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Theognis  
Harrison

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STUDIES IN THEOGNIS

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# STUDIES IN THEOGNIS

TOGETHER WITH  
A TEXT OF THE POEMS

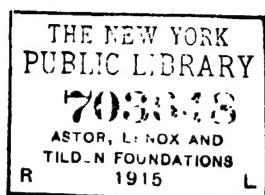
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ΘΕΥΓΝΙΔΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΠΗ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΣ

XSIOY WEM  
OLBPA  
YPAZELL

## PREFACE.

IN this book I make bold to maintain that Theognis wrote all or nearly all the poems which are extant under his name. The text was added by an afterthought; but it is not superfluous, since in the current editions more than forty lines, and these not the least important for my argument, are banished into an appendix or the obscurity of notes. So far as I know, the only book which leaves these lines in their proper places is the *Anthologia Lyrica* edited for Teubner by Eduard Hiller in 1890 and again by Otto Crusius in 1897; and good as that Anthology is, it is spoilt for my purpose by its lack of textual notes.

The works which I have consulted are mentioned by title each where reference is first made to it; but afterwards, if there is no fear of ambiguity, they are denoted only by the authors' names. Frequent use is made of the last important history of Greek literature: *Histoire de la Littérature grecque*, by Alfred and Maurice Croiset. Besides the critical editions which will be enumerated in the introduction to the text, I have had before me Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker's *Theognidis Reliquiae* (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1826), and the *Anthologia Lyrica* mentioned above. The editions which appeared before the discovery of the best manuscript, the Mutinensis, I have found of little use. For the annotations of Joachim Camerarius I have trusted Seber's *Theognis Illustratus*, published at Leipzig

in 1620. Occasionally reference is made to Elias Vinetus' Latin version, contained in Jacob Hertel's edition published at Basel in 1561; to a revised form of the same in Seber's edition, Leipzig, 1620; and to a French version by Patin in *Poètes Moralistes de la Grèce*, published at Paris by Garnier Frères. These translations do not include the second book.

In quoting Pindar I follow Otto Schröder's edition, the fifth edition of the first volume of Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*. For the other poets comprised in Bergk the numeration and in general the text of his fourth edition are used. Hesiod is quoted according to Rzach (1884).

My warmest thanks are due to Professor Sir Richard Jebb, Dr Henry Jackson, and Dr A. W. Verrall. Their friendly criticism removed many mistakes from this dissertation, and their encouragement induced me to submit it to the ordeal of print. In addition, Sir Richard Jebb very kindly read through the greater part of the proofs. For the means of publication I am indebted to the Syndics of the University Press.

E. H.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

October, 1902.  
 OCT 11 1902  
 VERRALL

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## INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT.

THE text of the Theognidean poems which follows is not founded on any fresh examination of the manuscripts. The evidence which has been used is contained in these editions and articles :

Theognidis Elegi. Secundis curis recensuit Immanuel Bekkerus. Berolini, 1827.

Theognidis Elegiae. Secundis curis recognovit Christophorus Ziegler. Tubingae, 1880.

Theognidis Reliquiae. Edidit Jacobus Sitzler. Heidelbergae, 1880.

Poetae Lyrici Graeci. Recensuit Theodorus Bergk. Editionis quartae vol. ii. Lipsiae, MDCCCLXXXII.

'Ad Theognidem,' by H. W. van der Mey, in *Mnemosyne*, vol. viii. 1880, pp. 307—325. (Contains a transcript of lines 529—1032 and 1041—55 as they appear in A. In the notes on these portions of the text I follow van der Mey's report of the spelling of A, printing  $\sigma$ , not  $s$ , for example, at the ends of words.)

'Vorläufiges zu Theognis,' by H. Jordan, in *Hermes*, vol. xv. 1880, pp. 524—529. (Corrects some of the mistakes of earlier collations of A.)

'Vorläufige Nachricht über den Vaticanus 915 des Theognis,' by the same, in *Hermes*, vol. xvi. 1881, pp. 506—511. (Criticizes Ziegler's report of the readings of O.)

'Zu Theognis,' by Eduard Hiller, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* (which I denote by *N. J.*), year xxvii. 1881, pp. 449—480. (A review of Ziegler's and Sitzler's editions, together with a collation of A by A. Klügmann.)

'Zu Theognis,' by Christoph Ziegler, in *N. J.* year xxviii. 1882, pp. 446—448. (An answer to Jordan, throwing new light upon O.)

'Zu Theognis,' by the same, in *N. J.* year xxix. 1883, pp. 253—255. (A collation of the manuscript N, 'einer der relativ besten der dritten classe.')

Occasionally I made use of Bekker's first edition (1815), Ziegler's first (1868), and Bergk's first, second and third.

The best manuscript, the *Mutinensis*, or A, which is in Paris, is assigned to the tenth century; the second best, O, which is in the library of the Vatican, is assigned to the thirteenth. Scholars are agreed that the remaining manuscripts are all derived from an interpolated text, which seldom has weight against the agreement of A and O. No better was the text on which Stobaeus' excerpts from our poet directly or indirectly depend; yet Stobaeus, like the inferior manuscripts, preserves a good reading now and again. For reporting the readings of the inferior manuscripts I have introduced the symbols Z and z, of which

Z means 'most of the inferior manuscripts,'

z means 'some of the inferior manuscripts.'

The expressions 'the rest' (when a reading of A or O or both has been mentioned), 'all but A,' 'all but O,' and 'all but AO,' explain themselves. The manuscript K, however, is never taken into account, and is never necessarily included in any of these expressions. K is a copy of O, deficient where O is spoilt by damp, and shewing no trace of any tradition independent of O; wherefore it may be ignored, as Ziegler ignored it in his second edition and Bergk in his fourth. In the second book, which is extant in A only, Greek words recorded by themselves in the notes are the readings of A.

My critical notes do not pretend to be full. Matters of punctuation and accent<sup>1</sup>, minor variations of spelling, differences between our text and quotations from Theognis in ancient authors—these things are neglected unless they have some special interest. The readings of the inferior manuscripts are seldom mentioned if they are certainly wrong; and when A differs from O the worse reading is not necessarily reported unless the better looks like an interpolation. Nevertheless some variations are recorded as shewing well

<sup>1</sup> For example I have not ventured to follow A in reading ᾗδε, οἷδε etc. in 39, 41, 53 and elsewhere: see Kühner-Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, § 79. 3. O has marked peculiarities of accentuation.

the relations between A and O and the rest, others merely because of their interest to the student of textual error. Nor have I cumbered the ground with the countless conjectures of learned men. Even where the text is justly suspect I have recorded only a few of the would-be remedies, or, if all are unlucky, none. On the other hand I have given references to the articles mentioned above in some places where the notes of previous editors can be supplemented or corrected with the help of later research.

In the text itself I have admitted in general only such emendations as are commonly accepted, and not all even of these. In a few places, however, readings are introduced which I believe to be new: in 288 ὡς δέ τι σῶσ' αἰεὶ, in 933 ἀθηρή, in 1380 ἐρίδων. The last of these I owe to Dr Henry Jackson. In 400 the reading of A is printed with a capital letter as a proper name. In 961 the doubtful form ὕλει is accepted as explaining the corruption of the manuscripts better than ἰλυῖ. Uniformity of spelling has not been sought: γίγνομαι appears as well as γίνομαι, αἰθίς and αἰτίς, πρᾶγμα and πρήγμα, ἄν and ἦν. When A only, or O only, has πρᾶγμα, for example, πρήγμα is printed in the text; but where both A and O have πρᾶγμα, while the rest have πρήγμα, the spelling of A and O is preferred. Believing that different poems in the Theognidean collection belong to different ages, Bergk and other editors have excluded recent forms from some poems but admitted them in others. To this capricious consistency I have preferred a conservative inconsistency. The time for systematic distinctions will come when it is certain that the poems are the work of more than one man; and that, as I hope to shew, is not yet proved.

More delicate is the task of fixing the divisions between the poems. In A and O and K there are no divisions, and the beginning of a new piece is not even marked by a capital letter. The divisions which appear in some of the inferior manuscripts are not older than their common ancestor, which has been called a 'durch und durch interpolirter Codex.' Accordingly recent editors of Theognis have felt themselves free to fix divisions where they thought fit, and I have availed

myself of this liberty in full. But besides the divisions between poem and poem it is important to recognize the divisions between group and group. A group may consist, for example, of two poems antithetic to each other; of two or more poems supplementary to one another; or of several maxims on various subjects, expressed in a couplet apiece. Accordingly in the text which follows a shorter gap is left after a poem which does not seem to end a group, a longer after an isolated poem or a poem which seems to end a group. This method is necessarily unsatisfactory; but it may give the reader some help without appearing too obtrusively to answer questions of which many must always be decided by individual taste.

## CORRIGENDA.

Page	40,	verse	893.	<i>Read</i>	πῶλιν δὲ κακοί.
„	50,	„	1103.	„	ὄβρις.
„	119,	note	1.	„	IV.
„	140,	line	18.	„	409—10.
„	202,	„	15.	„	793.
„	225,	„	5.	„	757.

## ΘΕΟΓΝΙΔΟΣ ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ Α

ὦ ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἱέ, Διὸς τέκος, οὔποτε σεῖο  
 λήσομαι ἀρχόμενος οὐδ' ἀποπαινόμενος,  
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἔν τε μέσοισιν  
 αἰείσω· σὺ δέ μοι κλῦθι καὶ ἐσθλὰ δίδου.

Φοῖβε ἄναξ, ὅτε μὲν σε θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητώ, 5  
 φοῖνικος ῥαδιῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη,  
 ἀθανάτων κάλλιστον, ἐπὶ τροχοειδέϊ λίμνῃ,  
 πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίῃ  
 ὁδμῆς ἀμβροσίης, ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη,  
 γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἀλὸς πολιῆς. 10

Ἄρτεμι θηροφόνῃ, θύγατερ Διός, ἣν Ἀγαμέμνων  
 εἴσαθ', ὅτ' ἐς Τροίην ἔπλεε νηυσὶ θεῆς,  
 εὐχομένῳ μοι κλῦθι, κακὰς δ' ἀπὸ κῆρας ἄλαλκε·  
 σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο, θεά, σμικρόν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα.

Μοῦσαι καὶ Χάριτες, κοῦραι Διός, αἵ ποτε Κάδμου 15  
 ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσαι καλὸν αἰείσατ' ἔπος·

Ὅττι καλόν, φίλον ἐστί, τὸ δ' οὐ καλὸν οὐ φίλον ἐστί·  
 τοῦτ' ἔπος ἀθανάτων ἦλθε διὰ στομάτων.

For title A has *θεογνιδος ελεγειων α'*, O has *ἀρχή σὺν θεῷ τοῦ θεογνιδος δε δια*  
*στίχων ἡρωελεγειων* — 6 *ραδιῆς* OZ — 12 *εἴσαθ'* AOZ

Κύρνε, σοφίζομένω μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω  
 τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν, λήσει δ' οὐποτε κλεπτόμενα, 20  
 οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος,  
 ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη  
 τοῦ Μεγαρέως. πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστός  
 ἀστοῖσιν γ' οὐπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι.  
 οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, Πολυπαῖδ'· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς 25  
 οὐθ' ὕων πάντεσσ' ἀνδάνει οὐτ' ἀνέχων.

Coὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ αὐτός,  
 Κύρν', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον.  
 πέπνυσο, μὴδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασι μὴδ' ἀδίκοις  
 τιμὰς μὴδ' ἀρετὰς ἔλκεο μὴδ' ἄφενος. 30  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἴσθι· κακοῖσι δὲ μὴ προσομίλει  
 ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχειο·  
 καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν  
 ἵξε, καὶ ἀνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις.  
 ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ' ἐσθλὰ μαθήσεται· ἦν δὲ κακοῖσι 35  
 συμμίσγης, ἀπολείς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.  
 ταῦτα μαθὼν ἀγαθοῖσιν ὀμίлее, καὶ ποτε φήσεις  
 εὖ συμβουλεύειν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἐμέ.

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἥδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκη ἄνδρα  
 εὐθυντήρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης. 40  
 ἀστοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔθ' οἶδε σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ  
 τετράφεται πολλὴν ἐς κακότητα πεσεῖν.

Οὐδεμίαν πω, Κύρν', ἀγαθοὶ πόλιν ὤλεσαν ἄνδρες·  
 ἀλλ' ὅταν ὑβρίζειν τοῖσι κακοῖσιν ἄδη,

20 κλεπτόμενα O, -ένη Z — 24 ἀστοῖσι(ν) δ' MSS. — 26 πάντεσσ' A only, πάντας OZ — 36 συμμίσγης A, συμμιγῆς O, συμμιχθῆς the rest — 40 ἡμετέρης OZ

δῆμόν τε φθείρωσι, δίκας τ' ἀδίκοισι διδῶσιν 45  
 οἰκείων κερδέων εἵνεκα καὶ κράτεος,  
 ἔλπεο μὴ δηρὸν κείνην πόλιν ἀτρεμείσθαι,  
 μῆδ' εἰ νῦν κείται πολλῇ ἐν ἡσυχίῃ,  
 εὖτ' ἂν τοῖσι κακοῖσι φίλ' ἀνδράσι ταῦτα γένηται,  
 κέρδεα δημοσίῳ σὺν κακῷ ἐρχόμενα. 50  
 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στάσιές τε καὶ ἔμφυλοι φόνοι ἀνδρῶν  
 μούναρχοί θ' ἂ πόλει μήποτε τῇδε ἄδοι.

Κύρνε, πόλις μὲν ἔθ' ἦδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι,  
 οἱ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἤδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,  
 ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον, 55  
 ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος.  
 καὶ νῦν εἰς ἀγαθοί, Πολυπαῖδῃ· οἱ δὲ πρὶν ἐσθλοὶ  
 νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν;  
 ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶντες,  
 οὔτε κακῶν γνῶμας εἰδότες οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν. 60

Μῆδένα τῶνδε φίλον ποιεῦ, Πολυπαῖδῃ, ἀστῶν  
 ἐκ θυμοῦ, χρεῖης οὔνεκα μηδεμιῆς·  
 ἀλλὰ δόκει μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ γλώσσης φίλος εἶναι,  
 χρῆμα δὲ συμμίξεῖς μηδενὶ μῆδ' ὅτιοῦν  
 σπουδαῖον· γνώσῃ γὰρ οἰζυρῶν φρένας ἀνδρῶν, 65  
 ὥς σφιν ἐπ' ἔργοισιν πίστις ἐπ' οὐδεμία,  
 ἀλλὰ δόλους τ' ἀπάτας τε πολυπλοκίας τ' ἐφίλησαν  
 οὕτως, ὥς ἄνδρες μηκέτι σωζόμενοι.

Μήποτε, Κύρνε, κακῷ πῖσυνος βούλευε σὺν ἀνδρί,  
 εὖτ' ἂν σπουδαῖον πρῆγμ' ἐθέλῃς τελέσαι, 70

45 φθείρουσι and διδοῦσι A — 47 ἀτρεμέσθαι MSS. — 51-2 ἀνδρῶν· μούναρχοι  
 (-ος Z) δὲ π. MSS. — 56 τῆσδ'...πόλιν all but A — 62 χρεῖης A. εἵνεκα or ἐνεκα all  
 but A



ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐσθλὸν ἰὼν βούλευ καὶ πολλὰ μογήσαι  
καὶ μακρὴν ποσσίν, Κύρν', ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσαι.

Πρῆξιν μὴδὲ φίλοισιν ὅλως ἀνακοίνεο πᾶσι·  
παῦροί τοι πολλῶν πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον.

Παύροισιν πίσυνος μεγάλ' ἀνδράσιν ἔργ' ἐπιχείρει, 75  
μή ποτ' ἀνήκεστον, Κύρνε, λάβῃς ἀνίην.

Πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι  
ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.

Παύρους εὐρήσεις, Πολυπαῖδῃ, ἀνδρας ἐταίρους  
πιστοὺς ἐν χαλεποῖς πρήγμασι γινομένους, 80  
οἵτινες ἂν τολμῶεν ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες  
ἴσον τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τε κακῶν μετέχειν.

Τούτους οὐχ εὖροις διζήμενος οὐδ' ἐπὶ πάντας  
ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ναῦς μὴ μία πάντας ἄγοι,  
οἷσιν ἐπὶ γλώσση τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεστιν 85  
αἰδώς, οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν χρῆμ' ἐπὶ κέρδος ἄγει.

Μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλη,  
εἷ με φιλεῖς καὶ σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος.

ἢ με φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἢ μ' ἀποειπὼν  
ἔχθαιρ', ἀμφαδῖν νείκος ἀειράμενος. 90

ὅς δὲ μὴ γλώσση δίχ' ἔχει νόον, οὗτος ἐταῖρος  
δεινός, Κύρν', ἐχθρὸς βέλτερος ἢ φίλος ὢν.

Ἄν τις ἐπαινῇ σε τόσον χρόνον ὅσον ὀρώης,  
νοσφισθεὶς δ' ἄλλην γλώσσαν ἱῇσι κακὴν,

71-2 βούλευ'. καὶ πολλὰ μογήσας...ἐκτελέσας (corrected perhaps from -ῆσαι...  
-έσαι, *Hermes* xv. 528, *N. J.* xxvii. 452) A, βούλευε πολλὰ μογήσαι...ἐκτελέσαι O,  
βουλεύεο πολλὰ μογήσας...ἐκτελέσας the rest — 73 ἀνακοίνεο Döderlein — 83 so A,  
τούτους οὐχ εὐρήσεις O, τοὺς δ' οὐχ εὐρήσεις the rest — 86 ἐπὶ A, ἐπὶ OZ — 93 et all  
but AO. -η A, -ει the rest — 94 ἄλλη all but AO. ἱῇσι Bekker; ἱῇσι Az, ἱῇσι z

τοιούτός τοι ἑταῖρος ἀνὴρ φίλος οὔτι μάλ' ἐσθλός, 95  
 ὅς κ' εἴπη γλώσση λῶα, φρονῇ δ' ἕτερα.  
 ἀλλ' εἴη τοιούτος ἐμοὶ φίλος, ὅς τὸν ἑταῖρον  
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρει  
 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου. σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, ταῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 φράζεο, καὶ ποτέ μου μνήσσαι ἐξοπίσω. 100

Μηδεὶς σ' ἀνθρώπων πείσῃ κακὸν ἄνδρα φιλῆσαι,  
 Κύρνε· τί δ' ἐστ' ὄφελος δειλὸς ἀνὴρ φίλος ὢν;  
 οὔτ' ἂν σ' ἐκ χαλεποῖο πόνου ρύσαιτο καὶ ἄτης,  
 οὔτε κεν ἐσθλὸν ἔχων τοῦ μεταδοῦν ἐθέλοι.

Δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτῃ χάρις ἐστίν· 105  
 ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἀλὸς πολῆς.  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πόντον σπείρων βαθὺ λήιον ἀμῶς,  
 οὔτε κακοὺς εὖ δρῶν εὖ πάλιν ἀντιλάβοις.  
 ἄπληστον γὰρ ἔχουσι κακοὶ νόον· ἦν δ' ἐν ἀμάρτης,  
 τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων ἐκκέχυται φιλότης. 110  
 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐπαυρίσκουσι παθόντες,  
 μνήμα δ' ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν καὶ χάριν ἐξοπίσω.

Μήποτε τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ἑταῖρον,  
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φεύγειν ὥστε κακὸν λιμένα.

Πολλοὶ τοι πόσιος καὶ βρώσιός εἰσιν ἑταῖροι, 115  
 ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

Κιβδήλου δ' ἀνδρὸς γινῶναι χαλεπώτερον οὐδέν,  
 Κύρν', οὐδ' εὐλαβίης ἐστὶ περὶ πλέονος.

Χρυσοῦ κιβδήλοιο καὶ ἀργύρου ἀνσχετὸς ἄτη, 120  
 Κύρνε, καὶ ἐξευρεῖν ῥάδιον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ·

102 δειλὸς A only, O omits, κείνος Z — 104 τοῦ μεταδοῦναι θέλοι (from τ. μεγάλ. θ., *Hermes* xv. 527) A, τοῦ μεγάλου δοῦναι θέλει O, τοῦ μεγάλου (or μέγα) δοῦναι (ἐ)θέλει the rest — 105 δ. δ' εἰ all but A — 117 O omits δ' — 119 ἀνσχετὸς one ms., ἀσχετος the rest with Clement of Alexandria

εἰ δὲ φίλου νόος ἀνδρὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι λελήθη  
 ψυδρὸς ἑών, δόλιον δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ἦτορ ἔχη,  
 τοῦτο θεὸς κιβδηλότατον ποίησε βροτοῖσι,  
 καὶ γινῶναι πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόον οὐδὲ γυναικός,  
 πρὶν πειρηθείης ὥσπερ ὑποζυγίου.  
 οὐδέ κεν εἰκάσσαις ὥσπερ ποτ' ἐς ὠριον ἐλθών.  
 πολλάκι γὰρ γνώμην ἔξαπατῶσ' ἰδέαι.

125

Μήτ' ἀρετὴν εὖχου, Πολυπαῖδη, ἔσοχος εἶναι,  
 μήτ' ἄφενος· μῦνον δ' ἀνδρὶ γένοιτο τύχη.

130

Οὐδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἄμεινον  
 ἔπλετο, τοῖς ὁσίῃ, Κύρνε, μέμλε δίκη.

Οὐδεῖς, Κύρν', ἄτης καὶ κέρδεος αἴτιος αὐτός,  
 ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τούτων δώτορες ἀμφοτέρων.  
 οὐδέ τις ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεται ἐν φρεσὶν εἰδὼς  
 ἐς τέλος εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν γίνεται εἴτε κακόν.  
 πολλάκι γὰρ δοκέων θήσκειν κακὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκεν,  
 καὶ τε δοκῶν θήσκειν ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε κακόν.  
 οὐδέ τῃ ἀνθρώπων παραγίνεται ὅσσα θέλησιν·  
 ἴσχει γὰρ χαλεπῆς πείρατ' ἀμηχανίης.  
 ἄνθρωποι δὲ μάταια νομίζομεν, εἰδότες οὐδέν·  
 θεοὶ δὲ κατὰ σφέτερον πάντα τελοῦσι νόον.

135

140

Οὐδεῖς πῶ ξεῖνον, Πολυπαῖδη, ἔξαπατήσας  
 οὐδ' ἰκέτην θνητῶν ἀθανάτους ἔλαθεν.  
 βούλεο δ' εὖσεβέων ὀλίγοις σὺν χρήμασιν οἰκεῖν  
 ἢ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως χρήματα πασάμενος.

145

125 οὐδὲ γὰρ AO, οὐ γὰρ δὲ Z with the *Eudemian Ethics* — 127 ποτ' ἐσώριον Oz — 132 ἔπλετο οἱς MSS., ἔπλεθ' ὅσους Stobaeus — 146 πασσάμενος MSS.

ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶς ἀρετὴ ἔστι,  
πᾶς δέ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Κύρνε, δίκαιος ἐών.

Χρήματα μὲν δαίμων καὶ παγκάκῳ ἀνδρὶ δίδωσι,  
Κύρν'· ἀρετῆς δ' ὀλίγοις ἀνδράσι μοῖρ' ἔπεται. 150

Ὑβριν, Κύρνε, θεὸς πρῶτον κακῷ ὥπασεν ἀνδρί,  
οὗ μέλλει χῶρην μηδεμίαν θέμεναι.

Τίττει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπεται  
ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.

Μήποτε τοι πενίην θυμοφθόρον ἀνδρὶ χολωθείς 155  
μῆδ' ἀχρημοσύνην οὐλομένην πρόφερε·

Ζεὺς γάρ τοι τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ,  
ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν.

Μήποτε, Κύρν', ἀγορᾶσθαι ἔπος μέγα· οἶδε γὰρ οὐδεὶς  
ἀνθρώπων ὃ τι νύξ χημέρη ἀνδρὶ τελεῖ. 160

Πολλοὶ τοι χρῶνται δειλαῖς φρεσὶ, δαίμονι δ' ἐσθλῷ,  
οἷς τὸ κακὸν δοκέον γίγνεται εἰς ἀγαθόν·  
εἰσὶν δ' οἱ βουλῇ τ' ἀγαθῇ καὶ δαίμονι δειλῷ  
μοχθίζουσι, τέλος δ' ἔργμασιν οὐχ ἔπεται.

Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ὄλβιος οὔτε πενιχρὸς 165  
οὔτε κακὸς νόσφιν δαίμονος οὔτ' ἀγαθός.

Ἄλλ' ἄλλῳ κακὸν ἐστὶ, τὸ δ' ἀτρεκές ὄλβιος οὐδεὶς  
ἀνθρώπων ὁπόσους ἥελιος καθορᾷ.

ὃν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσιν, ὁ καὶ μωμεύμενος αἰνεῖ·  
ἀνδρὸς δὲ σπουδὴ γίνεται οὐδεμία. 170

150 ἢ δ' ἀρετὴ δ. ἀ. κύρν' ἐ. all but A — 151 κακὸν all but A and one other —  
152 θέμενον AOZ — 154 ἀνθρώπων AO — 157 ἄλλῳ Stobaeus — 158 δ' οὐδὲν all but  
A — 163 δειλῷ A, κακῷ O, φαύλῳ the rest — 169 O omits δέ. δ AO

Θεοῖς εὖχον, θεοῖς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κράτος· οὗτοι ἄτερ θεῶν  
γίνεται ἀνθρώποις οὐτ' ἀγάθ' οὔτε κακά.

Ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίη πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα  
καὶ γήρως πολιού, Κύρνε, καὶ ἡπιάλου·  
ἦν δὴ χρή φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς βαθυκήτεα πόντον 175  
ρίπτειν καὶ πετρέων, Κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων.  
καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενίη δεδμημένος οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν  
οὔθ' ἔρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ δέδεται·  
χρή γὰρ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης  
δίτρησθαι χαλεπῆς, Κύρνε, λύσιν πενίης. 180

Τεθνάμεναι, φίλε Κύρνε, πενιχρῷ βέλτερον ἀνδρὶ  
ἢ ζῶειν χαλεπῇ τειρόμενον πενίη.

Κριοὺς μὲν καὶ ὄνους διζήμεθα, Κύρνε, καὶ ἵππους  
εὐγενέας, καὶ τις βούλεται ἐξ ἀγαθῶν  
βήσεσθαι· γῆμαι δὲ κακὴν κακοῦ οὐ μελεδαίνει 185  
ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ, ἦν οἱ χρήματα πολλὰ διδῶ·  
οὐδὲ γυνὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίνεται εἶναι ἄκοιτις  
πλουσίου, ἀλλ' ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ.  
χρήματα γὰρ τιμῶσι· καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἔγνημεν,  
καὶ κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· πλοῦτος ἔμιξε γένος. 190  
οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε γένος, Πολυπαῖδη, ἀστῶν  
μαυροῦσθαι· σὺν γὰρ μίσγεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖς.

Αὐτός τοι ταύτην εἰδὼς κακόπατριν ἐοῦσαν  
εἰς οἴκους ἄγεται, χρήμασι πειθόμενος,

171 θ. εἰ. θεοῖσιν ἐπικράτος A, θ. εἰ. οἷς ἐστὶ κράτος O, θ. εἰ. οἷς ἐστὶ μέγα κράτος the rest — 175 all the writers who quote this line have χρή πενίην φεύγοντα. μεγακήτεα all but A — 176 καθ' ἡλιβάτων A — 177 all the writers who quote this line have πᾶς γάρ — 189 γάρ Xenophon in Stobaeus, μὲν MSS. — 190 πλοῦτος A with Xenophon, πλοῦτον the rest — 193 αὐτὸς τοιαύτην O

εὐδοξος κακόδοξον, ἐπεὶ κρατερή μιν ἀνάγκη  
ἐντύει, ἥτ' ἀνδρὸς τλήμονα θῆκε νόον. 195

Χρῆμα δ' ὃ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκη ἀνδρὶ γένηται  
καὶ καθαρῶς, αἰεὶ παρμόνιμον τελέθει·  
εἰ δ' ἀδίκως παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνὴρ φιλοκερδέει θυμῷ  
κτῆσεται, εἴθ' ὄρκῳ παρ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλών, 200  
αὐτίκα μὲν τι φέρειν κέρδος δοκεῖ, ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν  
αὖθις ἔγεντο κακόν, θεῶν δ' ὑπερέσχε νόος.  
ἀλλὰ τὰδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπατᾶ νόον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ  
τίνονται μάκαρες πρήγματος ἀμπλακίας·  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔτισε κακὸν χρέος, οὐδὲ φίλοισιν 205  
ἄτην ἐξοπίσω παισὶν ἐπεκρέμασεν·  
ἄλλον δ' οὐ κατέμαρψε δίκη· θάνατος γὰρ ἀναιδὴς  
πρόσθεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις ἔζετο κῆρα φέρων.

Οὐδεῖς τοι φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος·  
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐστὶν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότερον. 210

Οἶνόν τοι πίνειν πουλὺν κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὸν  
πίνη ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακὸς ἀλλ' ἀγαθός.

Θυμέ, φίλους κάτα πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον ἦθος,  
ὀργὴν συμμίσγων ἥντιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.  
πουλύπου ὀργὴν ἴσχε πολυπλόκου, ὃς ποτὶ πέτρη, 215  
τῇ προσομιλήσῃ, τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη·  
νῦν μὲν τῇδ' ἐφέπου, τότε δ' ἀλλοῖος χρόα γίνου.  
κρέσσων τοι σοφίῃ γίγνεται ἀτροπῆς.

195 *εὐδοξος* all but A — 196 *ἐντύει* MSS. — 197 *so* A, *χρήμαθ' ᾧ Διόθεν* O, *χρήματα δ' ᾧ Διόθεν* the rest — 203 *ἐτ' ΑΟζ*, *αὐτοῖς* MSS. — 204 *ἀμπλακίης* OZ — 206 *ὑπεκρέμασεν* O; *ὑπερκρέμασεν* Bergk — 211 *πολὺν* AO — 213 *Κύρνε* all but A — 218 *κραιπνόν* all but A

Μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄσχαλλε ταρασσομένων πολιητέων,  
 Κύρνε, μέσσην δ' ἔρχευ τὴν ὁδόν, ὥσπερ ἐγώ. 220

“Ὅστις τοι δοκέει τὸν πλησίον ἰδμεναι οὐδέν,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μῦνος ποικίλα δῆνέ' ἔχειν,  
 κείνός γ' ἄφρων ἐστί, νόου βεβλαμμένος ἐσθλοῦ.  
 ἴσως γὰρ πάντες ποικίλ' ἐπιστάμεθα,  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλει κακοκερδίησιν ἔπεσθαι, 225  
 τῷ δὲ δολοπλοκίαι μᾶλλον ἄπιστοι ἄδον.

Πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν·  
 οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἡμῶν πλεῖστον ἔχουσι βίον,  
 διπλάσιον σπεύδουσι. τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας;  
 χρήματά τοι θνητοῖς γίγνεται ἀφροσύνη· 230  
 ἅτῃ δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναφαίνεται, ἣν ὁπότε Ζεὺς  
 πέμψῃ τειρομένοις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἐὼν κενεόφροني δῆμῳ,  
 Κύρν', ὀλίγης τιμῆς ἔμμορεν ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.

Οὐδὲν ἔτι πρέπει ἡμῖν ἅτ' ἀνδράσι σφῶζομένοισιν, 235  
 ἀλλ' ὡς πάγῃ πόλει, Κύρνε, ἀλωσομένη.

Coὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον  
 πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος  
 ῥηιδίως· θοίνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνησι παρέσση  
 ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασι· 240

225 κακοκερδείῃσιν Z — 228 πιστὸν O — 235 οὐδὲν ἐπιτρέπει A, οὐδέ τι πρέπει O, οὐδ' ἔτι γε πρέπει (or the like) the rest. ἡμῶν all but O, ὁμῶν O — 236 ἀλύειν κύρν' ὡς πόλε' ἀλωσομένη (or the like) all but A — 238 πωτήσῃ all but AO. κατὰ MSS. ἀειράμενος O

καί σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγοις νέοι ἄνδρες  
 εὐκόσμως ἐρατοὶ καλὰ τε καὶ λιγέα  
 ἄσονται. καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης  
 βῆς πολυκωκύτους εἰς Ἀίδαο δόμους,  
 οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολεῖς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις 245  
 ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα,  
 Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφώμενος ἡδ' ἀνὰ νήσους,  
 ἰχθυόεντα περῶν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,  
 οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει  
 ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων· 250  
 πᾶσι δ', ὅσοισι μέμηλε, καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν αἰοιδῇ  
 ἔσση ὁμῶς, ὅφρ' ἂν γῇ τε καὶ ἥλιος.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγης παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγοις μ' ἀπατᾷς.

Κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιοτάτον· λῶστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν· 255  
 πρᾶγμα δὲ τερπνότατον, τοῦ τις ἐρᾷ, τὸ τυχεῖν.

Ἴππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλίη, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον  
 ἄνδρα φέρω, καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον·  
 πολλάκι δ' ἡμέλλησα διαρρήξασα χαλινὸν  
 φεύγεν, ἀπωσαμένη τὸν κακὸν ἡνίοχον. 260

Οὐ μοι πίνεται οἶνος ἐπεὶ παρὰ παιδὶ τερεῖνῃ  
 ἄλλος ἀνὴρ κατέχει πολλὸν ἐμοῦ κακίων·  
 ψυχρόν μοι παρὰ τῇδε φίλοι πίνουσι τοκῆς,  
 ὥσθ' ἅμα θ' ὑδρεύει καί με γοῶσα φέρει·

245 so A, οὐδέ τε λήσεις O, οὐδέ γε λήσεις the rest — 251 πᾶσι διὸς οἷσι A, πᾶσιν οἷσι O, πᾶσι γὰρ οἷσι the rest — 256 ἐράτο A, ἐράτο or ἐράτῳ corrected to ἐράτοτε O — 260 φεύγεν ἀπωσαμένη AO, φεύγεν ὡσαμένη the rest



Κύρνε, σοφίζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω  
 τοῖσδ' ἔπεσιν, λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα, 20  
 οὐδέ τις ἀλλάξει κάκιον τοῦσθλοῦ παρεόντος,  
 ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη  
 τοῦ Μεγαρέως. πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστὸς  
 ἀστοῖσιν γ' οὔπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι.  
 οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, Πολυπαῖδῃ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς 25  
 οὔθ' ὕων πάντεσσ' ἀνδάνει οὔτ' ἀνέχων.

Coὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ αὐτός,  
 Κύρν', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον.  
 πέπνυσο, μὴδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασι μὴδ' ἀδίκοισι  
 τιμὰς μὴδ' ἀρετὰς ἔλκεο μὴδ' ἄφενος. 30  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἴσθι· κακοῖσι δὲ μὴ προσομίλει  
 ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχεο·  
 καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν  
 ἵξε, καὶ ἀνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις.  
 ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ' ἐσθλὰ μαθήσεται· ἦν δὲ κακοῖσι 35  
 συμμίσγῃς, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.  
 ταῦτα μαθὼν ἀγαθοῖσιν ὀμίλῃς, καὶ ποτε φήσεις  
 εὖ συμβουλευεῖν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἐμέ.

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἥδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκῃ ἄνδρα  
 εὐθυντῆρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης. 40  
 ἀστοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔθ' οἶδε σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ  
 τετράφεται πολλὴν ἐς κακότητα πεσεῖν.

Οὐδεμίαν πω, Κύρν', ἀγαθοὶ πόλιν ὥλεσαν ἄνδρες·  
 ἀλλ' ὅταν ὑβρίζειν τοῖσι κακοῖσιν ἄδῃ,

20 κλεπτόμενα O, -ένη Z — 24 ἀστοῖσι(ν) δ' MSS. — 26 πάντεσσ' A only, πάντας OZ — 36 συμμίσγῃς A, συμμῆγῃ O, συμμυχθῆς the rest — 40 ὑμετέρης OZ

δῆμόν τε φθείρωσι, δίκας τ' ἀδίκουσι διδῶσιν 45  
 οἰκείων κερδέων εἵνεκα καὶ κράτεος,  
 ἔλπεο μὴ δηρὸν κείνην πόλιν ἀτρεμέισθαι,  
 μηδ' εἰ νῦν κεῖται πολλῇ ἐν ἡσυχίῃ,  
 εὖτ' ἂν τοῖσι κακοῖσι φίλ' ἀνδράσι ταῦτα γένηται,  
 κέρδεα δημοσίῳ σὺν κακῷ ἐρχόμενα. 50  
 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στάσιές τε καὶ ἔμφυλοι φόνοι ἀνδρῶν  
 μούναρχοί θ' ἃ πόλει μήποτε τῇδε ἄδοι.

Κύρνε, πόλις μὲν ἔθ' ἦδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι,  
 οἱ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἤδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,  
 ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον, 55  
 ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος.  
 καὶ νῦν εἶς ἀγαθοί, Πολυπαῖδ'· οἱ δὲ πρὶν ἐσθλοὶ  
 νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν;  
 ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶντες,  
 οὔτε κακῶν γυνώμας εἰδότες οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν. 60

Μηδένα τῶνδε φίλον ποιεῦ, Πολυπαῖδ'η, ἀστῶν  
 ἐκ θυμοῦ, χρεῖης οὔνεκα μηδεμιῆς·  
 ἀλλὰ δόκει μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ γλώσσης φίλος εἶναι,  
 χρήμα δὲ συμμίξεως μηδενὶ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν  
 σπουδαῖον· γνώσῃ γὰρ οἰζυρῶν φρένας ἀνδρῶν, 65  
 ὥς σφιν ἐπ' ἔργοισιν πίστις ἐπ' οὐδεμία,  
 ἀλλὰ δόλους τ' ἀπάτας τε πολυπλοκίας τ' ἐφίλησαν  
 οὕτως, ὥς ἄνδρες μηκέτι σωζόμενοι.

Μήποτε, Κύρνε, κακῷ πῖσυνος βούλευε σὺν ἀνδρί,  
 εὖτ' ἂν σπουδαῖον πρῆγμ' ἐθέλῃς τελέσαι, 70

45 φθείρουσι and διδοῦσι A — 47 ἀτρεμέισθαι MSS. — 51-2 ἀνδρῶν· μούναρχοι  
 (-ος Z) δὲ π. MSS. — 56 τῆσδ'...πόλιν all but A — 62 χρεῖης A. εἵνεκα or ἐνεκα all  
 but A

ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐσθλὸν ἰὼν βούλευ καὶ πολλὰ μογήσαι  
καὶ μακρὴν ποσσίν, Κύρν', ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσαι.

Πρῆξι μὴδὲ φίλοισιν ὅλως ἀνακοίneo πᾶσι·  
παῦροί τοι πολλῶν πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον.

Παύροισιν πίσυνος μεγάλ' ἀνδράσιν ἔργ' ἐπιχείρει, 75  
μή ποτ' ἀνήκεστον, Κύρνε, λάβῃς ἀνίην.

Πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερούσασθαι  
ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.

Παύρους εὐρήσεις, Πολυπαῖδη, ἄνδρας ἐταίρους 80  
πιστοὺς ἐν χαλεποῖς πρήγμασι γινομένους,  
οἵτινες ἂν τολμῶεν ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες  
ἴσον τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν τε κακῶν μετέχειν.

Τούτους οὐχ εὔροις διζήμενος οὐδ' ἐπὶ πάντας 85  
ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ναῦς μὴ μία πάντας ἄγοι,  
οἷσιν ἐπὶ γλώσση τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεστιν  
αἰδώς, οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν χρῆμ' ἐπὶ κέρδος ἄγει.

Μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλη,  
εἷ με φιλεῖς καὶ σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος.

ἢ με φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἢ μ' ἀποειπὼν 90  
ἔχθαιρ', ἀμφαδίην νεῖκος ἀειράμενος.

ὅς δὲ μὴ γλώσση δίχ' ἔχει νόον, οὗτος ἐταῖρος  
δεινός, Κύρν', ἐχθρὸς βέλτερος ἢ φίλος ὢν.

Ἄν τις ἐπαινῇ σε τόσον χρόνον ὅσον ὀρώης,  
νοσφισθεὶς δ' ἄλλην γλώσσαν ἱῇσι κακὴν,

71-2 βούλευ'. καὶ πολλὰ μογήσας...ἐκτελέσας (corrected perhaps from -ῆσαι...  
-έσαι, *Hermes* xv. 528, *N. J.* xxvii. 452) A, βούλενε πολλὰ μογήσαι...ἐκτελέσαι O,  
βουλεύεο πολλὰ μογήσας...ἐκτελέσας the rest — 73 ἀνακοίneo Döderlein — 83 so A,  
τούτους οὐχ εὐρήσεις O, τοὺς δ' οὐχ εὐρήσεις the rest — 86 ἐπὶ A, ἐπὶ OZ — 93 εἴ all  
but AO. -η A, -ει the rest — 94 ἄλλη all but AO. ἱῇσι Bekker; ἱῇσι Az, ἱῇσι z

τοιούτός τοι ἑταῖρος ἀνὴρ φίλος οὔτι μάλ' ἐσθλός, 95  
 ὅς κ' εἴπη γλώσση λῶα, φρονῇ δ' ἕτερα.  
 ἀλλ' εἴη τοιούτος ἐμοὶ φίλος, ὅς τὸν ἑταῖρον  
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρει  
 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου. σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, ταῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 φράζεο, καὶ ποτέ μου μνήσσαι ἐξοπίσω. 100

Μηδεὶς σ' ἀνθρώπων πείσῃ κακὸν ἄνδρα φιλῆσαι,  
 Κύρνε· τί δ' ἔστ' ὄφελος δειλὸς ἀνὴρ φίλος ὢν;  
 οὔτ' ἂν σ' ἐκ χαλεποῖο πόνου ρύσαιτο καὶ ἄτης,  
 οὔτε κεν ἐσθλὸν ἔχων τοῦ μεταδοῦν ἐθέλοι.

Δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτῃ χάρις ἐστίν· 105  
 ἴσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἀλὸς πολῆς.  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πόντον σπείρων βαθὺ λήιον ἀμῶς,  
 οὔτε κακοὺς εὖ δρῶν εὖ πάλιν ἀντιλάβοις.  
 ἄπληστον γὰρ ἔχουσι κακοὶ νόον· ἦν δ' ἐν ἀμάρτης,  
 τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων ἐκκέχυται φιλότης. 110  
 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἐπαυρίσκουσι παθόντες,  
 μνήμα δ' ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν καὶ χάριν ἐξοπίσω.

Μήποτε τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ἑταῖρον,  
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φεύγειν ὥστε κακὸν λιμένα.

Πολλοὶ τοι πόσιος καὶ βρώσιός εἰσιν ἑταῖροι, 115  
 ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

Κιβδήλου δ' ἀνδρὸς γινῶναι χαλεπώτερον οὐδέν,  
 Κύρν', οὐδ' εὐλαβίης ἐστὶ περὶ πλέονος.

Χρυσοῦ κιβδήλοιο καὶ ἀργύρου ἀνσχετὸς ἄτη, 120  
 Κύρνε, καὶ ἐξευρεῖν ῥάδιον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ·

102 δειλὸς A only, O omits, κείνος Z — 104 τοῦ μεταδοῦναι θέλοι (from τ. μεγαδ. θ., *Hermes* xv. 527) A, τοῦ μεγάλου δοῦναι θέλει O, τοῦ μεγάλου (or μέγα) δοῦναι (ἐ)θέλει the rest — 105 δ. δ' ἐδ all but A — 117 O omits δ' — 119 ἀνσχετὸς one ms., ἀσχετος the rest with Clement of Alexandria

εἰ δὲ φίλου νόος ἀνδρὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι λελήθη  
 ψυδρὸς ἑών, δόλιον δ' ἐν φρεσὶν ἦτορ ἔχη,  
 τοῦτο θεὸς κιβδηλότατον ποίησε βροτοῖσι,  
 καὶ γινῶναι πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόον οὐδὲ γυναικός, 125  
 πρὶν πειρηθείης ὥσπερ ὑποζυγίου.  
 οὐδέ κεν εἰκάσσαις ὥσπερ ποτ' ἐς ὥριον ἐλθών·  
 πολλάκι γὰρ γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσ' ἰδέαι.

Μήτ' ἀρετὴν εὖχου, Πολυπαῖδη, ἔξοχος εἶναι,  
 μήτ' ἄφενος· μῦνον δ' ἀνδρὶ γένοιτο τύχη. 130

Οὐδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἄμεινον  
 ἔπλετο, τοῖς ὀσίῃ, Κύρνε, μέμλε δίκη.

Οὐδεῖς, Κύρν', ἄτης καὶ κέρδεος αἴτιος αὐτός,  
 ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τούτων δώτορες ἀμφοτέρων·  
 οὐδέ τις ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεται ἐν φρεσὶν εἰδὼς 135  
 ἐς τέλος εἶτ' ἀγαθὸν γίνεται εἴτε κακόν.  
 πολλάκι γὰρ δοκέων θήσκει κακὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκεν,  
 καὶ τε δοκῶν θήσκει ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε κακόν.  
 οὐδέ τῳ ἀνθρώπων παραγίνεται ὅσσα θέλησιν·  
 ἴσχει γὰρ χαλεπῆς πείρατ' ἀμυχανίης. 140  
 ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ μάταια νομίζομεν, εἰδότες οὐδέν·  
 θεοὶ δὲ κατὰ σφέτερον πάντα τελοῦσι νόον.

Οὐδεῖς πῶ ξεῖνον, Πολυπαῖδη, ἐξαπατήσας  
 οὐδ' ἰκέτην θνητῶν ἀθανάτους ἔλαθεν.  
 βούλεο δ' εὖσεβέων ὀλίγοις σὺν χρήμασιν οἰκεῖν 145  
 ἢ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως χρήματα πασάμενος.

125 οὐδὲ γὰρ ΑΟ, οὐ γὰρ ἀν Ζ with the *Eudemian Ethics* — 127 ποτ' ἐσώριον  
 Οζ — 132 ἐπλετο οἷς MSS., ἐπλεθ' ὅσοις Stobaeus — 146 πασσάμενος MSS.

ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην παᾶς ἀρετῆς ἔστι,  
παᾶς δὲ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Κύρνε, δίκαιος ἐών.

Χρήματα μὲν δαίμων καὶ παγκάκῳ ἀνδρὶ δίδωσι,  
Κύρν'· ἀρετῆς δ' ὀλίγοις ἀνδράσι μοῖρ' ἔπεται. 150

Ὑβριν, Κύρνε, θεὸς πρῶτον κακῷ ὥπασεν ἀνδρί,  
οὗ μέλλει χώρην μηδεμίαν θέμεναι.

Τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπηται  
ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.

Μήποτε τοι πενίην θυμοφθόρον ἀνδρὶ χολωθείς 155  
μηδ' ἀχρημοσύνην οὐλομένην πρόφερε·

Ζεὺς γάρ τοι τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ,  
ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν.

Μήποτε, Κύρν', ἀγοραῖσθαι ἔπος μέγα· οἶδε γὰρ οὐδεῖς  
ἀνθρώπων ὃ τι νύξ χημέρη ἀνδρὶ τελεῖ. 160

Πολλοὶ τοι χρῶνται δειλαῖς φρεσὶ, δαίμονι δ' ἐσθλῷ,  
οἷς τὸ κακὸν δοκέον γίγνεται εἰς ἀγαθόν·  
εἰσὶν δ' οἱ βουλῇ τ' ἀγαθῇ καὶ δαίμονι δειλῷ  
μοχθίζουσι, τέλος δ' ἔργμασιν οὐχ ἔπεται.

Οὐδεῖς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ὄλβιος οὔτε πενιχρὸς 165  
οὔτε κακὸς νόσφιν δαίμονος οὔτ' ἀγαθός.

Ἄλλ' ἄλλῳ κακὸν ἔστι, τὸ δ' ἀτρεκὲς ὄλβιος οὐδεῖς  
ἀνθρώπων ὁπόσους ἥελιος καθορᾷ.

ὃν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσιν, ὃ καὶ μωμείμενος αἰνεῖ·  
ἀνδρὸς δὲ σπουδῇ γίνεται οὐδεμία. 170

150 ἢ δ' ἀρετῇ ὁ. δ. κύρν' ἔ. all but A — 151 κακὸν all but A and one other —  
152 θέμενον AOZ — 154 ἀνθρώπων AO — 157 ἄλλῳ Stobaeus — 158 δ' οὐδὲν all but  
A — 163 δειλῷ A, κακῷ O, φαύλῳ the rest — 169 O omits δέ. δ AO

Θεοῖς εὖχου, θεοῖς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κράτος· οὗτοι ἄτερ θεῶν  
γίνεται ἀνθρώποις οὐτ' ἀγάθ' οὔτε κακά.

Ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίη πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα  
καὶ γήρως πολιοῦ, Κύρνε, καὶ ἡπιάλου·  
ἦν δὴ χρὴ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς βαθυκήτεα πόντον 175  
ρίπτειν καὶ πετρώων, Κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων.  
καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενίη δεδμημένος οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν  
οὔθ' ἔρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ δέδεται·  
chrή γὰρ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης  
δίξσθαι χαλεπῆς, Κύρνε, λύσιν πενίης. 180

Τεθνάμεναι, φίλε Κύρνε, πενιχρῶ βέλτερον ἀνδρὶ  
ἢ ζῶειν χαλεπῇ τειρόμενον πενίη.

Κριοὺς μὲν καὶ ὄνους διζήμεθα, Κύρνε, καὶ ἵππους  
εὐγενέας, καὶ τις βούλεται ἐξ ἀγαθῶν  
βήσεσθαι· γῆμαι δὲ κακὴν κακοῦ οὐ μελεδαίνει 185  
ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ, ἦν οἱ χρήματα πολλὰ διδῶ·  
οὐδὲ γυνὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίνεται εἶναι ἄκοιτις  
πλουσίου, ἀλλ' ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ.  
χρήματα γὰρ τιμῶσι· καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἔγνημεν,  
καὶ κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· πλοῦτος ἔμξε γένος. 190  
οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε γένος, Πολυπαῖδη, ἀστῶν  
μαυροῦσθαι· σὺν γὰρ μίσγεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖς.

Αὐτός τοι ταύτην εἰδὼς κακόπατριν ἐοῦσαν  
εἰς οἴκους ἄγεται, χρήμασι πειθόμενος,

171 θ. εἰ. θεοῖσιν ἐπικράτος A, θ. εἰ. οἷς ἐστὶ κράτος O, θ. εἰ. οἷς ἐστὶ μέγα κράτος the rest — 175 all the writers who quote this line have χρὴ πενίην φεύγοντα. μεγακήτεα all but A — 176 καθ' ἡλιβάτων A — 177 all the writers who quote this line have πᾶς γὰρ — 189 γὰρ Xenophon in Stobæus, μὲν MSS. — 190 πλοῦτος A with Xenophon, πλούτου the rest — 193 αὐτὸς τοιαύτην O

εὐδοξος κακόδοξον, ἐπεὶ κρατερὴ μιν ἀνάγκη 195  
ἐντύει, ἥτ' ἀνδρὸς τλήμονα θῆκε νόον.

Χρῆμα δ' ὃ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκῃ ἀνδρὶ γένηται  
καὶ καθαρῶς, αἰεὶ παρμόνιμον τελέθει·  
εἰ δ' ἀδίκως παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνὴρ φιλοκερδέει θυμῷ  
κτῆσεται, εἴθ' ὄρκῳ παρ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλὼν, 200  
αὐτίκα μὲν τι φέρειν κέρδος δοκεῖ, ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν  
αὐθις ἔγεντο κακόν, θεῶν δ' ὑπερέσχε νόος.  
ἀλλὰ τὰδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπατᾷ νόον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ  
τίνονται μάκαρες πρήγματος ἀμπλακίας·  
ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔτισε κακὸν χρέος, οὐδὲ φίλοισιν 205  
ἄτην ἐξοπίσω παισὶν ἐπεκρέμασεν·  
ἄλλον δ' οὐ κατέμαρψε δίκη· θάνατος γὰρ ἀναιδὴς  
πρόσθεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι ἔζετο κῆρα φέρων.

Οὐδεῖς τοι φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος·  
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐστὶν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότερον. 210

Οἶνόν τοι πίνειν πουλὺν κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὸν  
πίνῃ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακὸς ἀλλ' ἀγαθός.

Θυμέ, φίλους κάτα πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον ἦθος,  
ὄργην συμμίσγων ἥντιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.  
πουλύπου ὄργην ἴσχε πολυπλόκου, ὅς ποτὶ πέτρῃ, 215  
τῇ προσομιλήσῃ, τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη·  
νῦν μὲν τῇδ' ἐφέπον, τότε δ' ἀλλοῖος χροᾷ γίνου.  
κρέσσων τοι σοφίῃ γίγνεται ἀτροπίης.

195 εὐδοξος all but A — 196 ἐντύει MSS. — 197 so A, χρῆμαθ' ᾧ Διόθεν O, χρῆματα δ' ᾧ Διόθεν the rest — 203 ἔτ' AOz. αὐτοῦς MSS. — 204 ἀμπλακίης OZ — 206 ὑπεκρέμασεν O; ὑπερκρέμασεν Bergk — 211 πολλὸν AO — 213 Κύρνε all but A — 218 κραιπνόν all but A



Μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄσχαλλε ταρασσομένων πολιητέων,  
 Κύρνε, μέσσην δ' ἔρχευ τὴν ὁδόν, ὥσπερ ἐγώ. 220

Ὅστις τοι δοκέει τὸν πλησίον ἰδμεναι οὐδέν,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μῶνος ποικίλα δῆνέ' ἔχειν,  
 κείνός γ' ἄφρων ἐστί, νόου βεβλαμμένος ἐσθλοῦ.  
 ἴσως γὰρ πάντες ποικίλ' ἐπιστάμεθα,  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλει κακοκερδίησιν ἔπεσθαι, 225  
 τῷ δὲ δολοπλοκίαι μᾶλλον ἄπιστοι ἄδον.

Πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν·  
 οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἡμῶν πλεῖστον ἔχουσι βίον,  
 διπλάσιον σπεύδουσι. τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας;  
 χρήματά τοι θνητοῖς γίγνεται ἀφροσύνη· 230  
 ἄτῃ δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναφαίνεται, ἣν ὁπότε Ζεὺς  
 πέμψῃ τειρομένοις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἐὼν κενεόφρονη δῆμῳ,  
 Κύρνε, ὀλίγης τιμῆς ἔμμορεν ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.

Οὐδὲν ἔτι πρέπει ἡμῖν ἅτ' ἀνδράσι σφῆζομένοισιν, 235  
 ἀλλ' ὥς πάγχυ πόλει, Κύρνε, ἀλωσομένη.

Coὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον  
 πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος  
 ῥηιδίως· θοίνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσση  
 ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασι· 240

225 κακοκερδείῃσιν Z — 228 πιστὸν O — 235 οὐδὲν ἐπιτρέπει A, οὐδέ τι πρέπει O, οὐδ' ἔτι γε πρέπει (or the like) the rest. ἡμῶν all but O, ὑμῶν O — 236 ἀλύειν κύρνε' ὡς πόλει' ἀλωσομένη (or the like) all but A — 238 πωτήσῃ all but AO. κατὰ MSS. ἀειράμενος O

καί σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες  
 εὐκόσμως ἐρατοὶ καλὰ τε καὶ λιγέα  
 ἄσονται. καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης  
 βῆς πολυκωκύντους εἰς Ἀίδαο δόμους,  
 οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολεῖς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις 245  
 ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα,  
 Κύρνε, καθ' Ἑλλάδα γῆν στρωφώμενος ἡδ' ἀνὰ νήσους,  
 ἰχθυοέντα περῶν πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον,  
 οὐχ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει  
 ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων· 250  
 πᾶσι δ', ὅσοισι μέμηλε, καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν αἰοιδῇ  
 ἔσση ὁμῶς, ὅφρ' ἂν γῇ τε καὶ ἥλιος.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγης παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς,  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μικρὸν παῖδα λόγους μ' ἀπατάς.

Κάλλιστον τὸ δικαιοτάτον· λῶστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν· 255  
 πρᾶγμα δὲ τερπνότατον, τοῦ τις ἐράῃ, τὸ τυχεῖν.

Ἴππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλίη, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον  
 ἄνδρα φέρω, καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀνηρότατον·  
 πολλάκι δ' ἡμέλλησα διαρρήξασα χαλινὸν  
 φεύγεν, ἀπωσαμένη τὸν κακὸν ἡνίοχον. 260

Οὐ μοι πίνεται οἶνος ἐπεὶ παρὰ παιδὶ τερεῖνῃ  
 ἄλλος ἀνὴρ κατέχει πολλὸν ἐμοῦ κακίων·  
 ψυχρόν μοι παρὰ τῇδε φίλοι πίνουσι τοκῆς,  
 ὥσθ' ἅμα θ' ὑδρεύει καὶ με γοῶσα φέρει·

245 so A, οὐδέ γε λήσεις O, οὐδέ γε λήσεις the rest — 251 πᾶσι διὸς οἶσι A, πᾶσιν οἶσι O, πᾶσι γὰρ οἶσι the rest — 256 ἐράτο A, ἐράτο or ἐράτῃ corrected to ἐράτορε O — 260 φεύγεν ἀπωσαμένη AO, φεύγειν ὥσαμένη the rest

ἔνθα μέσσην περὶ παῖδα βαλὼν ἀγκῶν ἐφίλησα 265  
 δειρὴν, ἣ δὲ τέρεν φθέγγετ' ἀπὸ στόματος.

Γνωτὴ τοι πενίη γε καὶ ἀλλοτρίη περ ἐοῦσα·  
 οὔτε γὰρ εἰς ἀγορὴν ἔρχεται οὔτε δίκας·  
 πάντῃ γὰρ τοῦλασσον ἔχει, πάντῃ δ' ἐπίμυκτος,  
 πάντῃ δ' ἐχθρὴ ὁμῶς γίγνεται, ἔνθα περ ἦ. 270

Ἴσως τοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θεοὶ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
 γῆρας τ' οὐλόμενον καὶ νεότητ' ἔδωσαν·  
 τῶν πάντων δὲ κάκιστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, θανάτου τε  
 καὶ πασέων νούσων ἐστὶ πονηρότατον—  
 παῖδας ἐπεὶ θρέψαιο καὶ ἄρμενα πάντα παράσχοις, 275  
 χρήματά τ' ἐγκαταθῆς, πόλλ' ἀνιηρὰ παθῶν,  
 τὸν πατέρ' ἐχθαίρουσι, καταρῶνται δ' ἀπολέσθαι,  
 καὶ στυγέουσ' ὥσπερ πτωχὸν ἐσερχόμενον.

Εἰκὸς τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα κακῶς τὰ δίκαια νομίζειν,  
 μηδεμίαν κατόπισθ' ἀζόμενον νέμεσιν· 280  
 δειλῷ γάρ τ' ἀπάλαμνα βροτῷ πάρα πόλλ' ἀνελέσθαι  
 παρ ποδός, ἡγεῖσθαί θ' ὥς καλὰ πάντα τιθεῖ.

Ἄστων μηδενὶ πιστὸς ἐὼν πόδα τῶνδε πρόβαινε,  
 μήθ' ὄρκῳ πίσυνος μήτε φιλημοσύνη,  
 μηδ' εἰ Ζῆν' ἐθέλῃ παρέχειν βασιλῆα μέγιστον 285  
 ἔγγυον ἀθανάτων πιστὰ τιθεῖν ἐθέλων.  
 ἐν γάρ τοι πόλει ὧδε κακοψόγῳ ἀνδάνει οὐδέν·  
 ὥς δέ τι σῶσ' αἰεὶ πολλοὶ ἀνολβότεροι·

265 παρὰ all but A. λαβὼν MSS. — 267 π. τε καὶ A, π. καὶ the rest — 269 so A, ἐπίμυκτος O, ἐπίμυκτος the rest — 276 ε. καταθῆς (a letter erased) A — 278 ἐπερχ. all but A — 281 βροτῷ A — 283 τῶνδε MSS. — 288 ὡςδε τοσούτοις εἰ A, ὥς δὲ τὸ σῶσαι of the rest

νῦν δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κακὰ γίνεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν  
 ἀνδρῶν· ἡγέονται δ' ἐκτραπέλοισι νόμοις· 290  
 αἰδῶς μὲν γὰρ ὄλωλεν, ἀναιδείη δὲ καὶ ὕβρις  
 νικήσασα δίκην γῆν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔχει.

Οὐδὲ λέων αἰεὶ κρέα δαίνυται, ἀλλὰ μιν ἔμψης  
 καὶ κρατερόν περ ἐόνθ' αἰρεῖ ἀμυχανίη.

Κωτίλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ σιγᾶν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος, 295  
 φθεγγόμενος δ' ἀδαῆς οἷσι παρῇ μέλεται,  
 ἐχθαίρουσι δὲ πάντες, ἀναγκαίη δ' ἐπίμιξις  
 ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου συμποσίῳ τελέθει.

Οὐδεὶς λῇ φίλος εἶναι, ἐπὴν κακὸν ἀνδρὶ γένηται,  
 οὐδ' ὧ κ' ἐκ γαστροῦ, Κύρνε, μιᾶς γεγόνῃ. 300

Πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς ἴσθι καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνὴς  
 λάτρισι καὶ δμῶσιν γείτοσί τ' ἀγχιθύροις.

Οὐ χρὴ κιγκλίζειν ἀγαθὸν βίον, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζειν,  
 τὸν δὲ κακὸν κινεῖν, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὀρθὰ βάλης.

Τοὶ κακοὶ οὐ πάντως κακοὶ ἐκ γαστροῦ γεγόνασιν, 305  
 ἀλλ' ἀνδρεσσι κακοῖς συνθέμενοι φιλήν  
 ἔργα τε δεῖλ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἔπη δύσφημα καὶ ὕβριν,  
 ἐλπόμενοι κείνους πάντα λέγειν ἔτυμα.

290 ἀνδρῶν ἡγέονται A, ἀνδρῶν γίνονται the rest — 294 ἐόντ' αἰρεῖ A; ἐόντ' ἀγρεῖ Bergk — 296 ἀδαῆς and ἀδδῆς, πέλεται and μελετᾶ have been proposed — 299 οὐδεὶς δὴ A, οὐδὲ θέλει O, οὐδ' ἐθέλει the rest — 300 οὐδ' ὧκ' A, οὐδ' ἦν the rest. γεγόνῃ A, -ει the rest — 301 ἀρπαλέος all but A — 304 . α . ης ('was eher βαλῆς als λαβῆς gewesen sein kann,' *Hermes* xv. 527) A, λάβῃς the rest — 305 οἱ all but A. πάντ. s (probably from πάντες) A

Ἐν μὲν συσσίτοισιν ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος εἶναι,  
 πάντα δέ μιν λήθειν ὡς ἀπεόντα δοκεῖ. 310  
 εἰς δὲ φέροι τὰ γελοῖα, θύρηφι δὲ καρτερός εἴη,  
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν ἣν τιν' ἕκαστος ἔχει.

Ἐν μὲν μαινομένοις μάλα μαίνομαι, ἐν δὲ δίκαιοις  
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰμὶ δικαιοτάτος.

Πολλοί τοι πλουτοῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται. 315  
 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τούτοις οὐ διαμειψόμεθα  
 τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλούτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,  
 χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Κύρν', ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ γνώμην ἔχει ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,  
 τολμᾷ δ' ἔν τε κακοῖς κείμενος ἔν τ' ἀγαθοῖς. 320  
 εἰ δὲ θεὸς κακῷ ἀνδρὶ βίον καὶ πλούτον ὀπάσσει,  
 ἀφραίνων κακίην οὐ δύναται κατέχειν.

Μή ποτ' ἐπὶ σμικρᾷ προφάσει φίλον ἀνδρ' ἀπολέσσαι,  
 πειθόμενος χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διαιβολίῃ.

Εἴ τις ἀμαρτωλῇσι φίλων ἐπὶ παντὶ χολῶτο, 325  
 οὐ ποτ' ἂν ἀλλήλοις ἄρθμοι οὐδὲ φίλοι  
 εἶεν. ἀμαρτωλαὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔπονται  
 θνητοῖς, Κύρνε· θεοὶ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι φέρειν.

Καὶ βραδὺς εὐβουλος εἶλεν ταχὺν ἀνδρα διώκων,  
 Κύρνε, σὺν εὐθείῃ θεῶν δίκη ἀθανάτων. 330

309 ἴσθι all but A — 310 δοκεῖ A, δόκει (N. J. xviii. 447) O, δόκει the rest  
 — 311 φέροι O(?)z, φέρειν z. θυρηφι A. A omits the second δέ. εἴη all but AO  
 — 318 ἄλλοτε τ' ἄλλος A — 320 appears twice in O, here and after 317 —  
 323 ἀπολέσ(σ)ητ or -ης all but A — 324 διαβολή mss. — 325 ἀμαρτωλοῖσι O

Ἦσυχος, ὥσπερ ἐγώ, μέσσην ὁδὸν ἔρχεο ποσσίν,  
μηδ' ἐτέροισι διδούς, Κύρνε, τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων. 332

Οὐκ ἔστιν φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος· α  
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἐστὶν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον. β

Μή ποτε φεύγοντ' ἄνδρα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, Κύρνε, φιλήσης· 333  
οὐδὲ γὰρ οἴκαδε βὰς γίνεται αὐτὸς ἔτι.

Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· πάντων μέσ' ἄριστα· καὶ οὕτως, 335  
Κύρν', ἔξεις ἀρετὴν, ἦντε λαβεῖν χαλεπόν.

Ζεὺς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοίη τίσιν, οἳ με φιλεῦσιν,  
τῶν τ' ἐχθρῶν μείζον, Κύρνε, δυνησόμενον·  
χοῦτως ἂν δοκέοιμι μετ' ἀνθρώπων θεὸς εἶναι,  
εἴ μ' ἀποτισάμενον μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου. 340

Ἀλλά, Ζεῦ, τέλεσόν μοι, Ὀλύμπιε, καίριον εὐχὴν,  
δὸς δέ μοι ἀντὶ κακῶν καί τι παθεῖν ἀγαθόν·  
τεθναῖν δ', εἰ μή τι κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων  
εὐροίμην, δοίην δ' ἀντ' ἀνιῶν ἀνίας.  
αἶσα γὰρ οὕτως ἐστί· τίσις δ' οὐ φαίνεται ἡμῖν 345  
ἀνδρῶν οἳ τὰμὰ χρήματ' ἔχουσι βίη  
συλήσαντες. ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην,  
χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ πάντ' ἀποσεισάμενος.  
τῶν εἷη μέλαν αἷμα πιεῖν, ἐπὶ τ' ἐσθλὸς ὄροιτο  
δαίμων, ὃς κατ' ἐμὸν νοῦν τελέσειε τάδε. 350

331 ὥπερ Bergk<sup>4</sup> (probably a misprint), Hiller, Crusius — 332 α β are in A only — 340 εἴ μ' A, εἰ μὴ O, ἦν the rest. κίχη MSS. — 349 ὄροιτο all but A (*Hermes* xvi. 509)

Ἄ δειλὴ Πενίη, τί μένεις προλιπούσα παρ' ἄλλον  
 ἄνδρ' ἰέναι; μὴ δὴ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φίλει,  
 ἀλλ' ἴθι καὶ δόμον ἄλλον ἐποίχεο, μηδὲ μεθ' ἡμέων  
 αἰεὶ δυστήνου τοῦδε βίου μέτεχε.

Τόλμα, Κύρνε, κακοῖσιν, ἐπεὶ κάσθλοῖσιν ἔχαιρες, 355  
 εὐτέ σε καὶ τούτων μοῖρ' ἐπέβαλλεν ἔχειν.  
 ὥς δέ περ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔλαβες κακόν, ὥς δέ καὶ αὐτίς  
 ἐκδύναι πειρῶ θεοῖσιν ἐπενχόμενος.  
 μηδὲ λήν ἐπίφαινε· κακὸν δέ τε, Κύρν', ἐπιφαίνων  
 παύρους κηδεμόνας σῆς κακότητος ἔχεις. 360

Ἄνδρός τοι κραδίη μινύθει μέγα πῆμα παθόντος,  
 Κύρν', ἀποτινυμένου δ' αὖξεται ἐξοπίσω.  
 Εὖ κώτιλλε τὸν ἐχθρόν· ὅταν δ' ὑποχείριος ἔλθῃ,  
 τίσαί νιν, πρόφασιν μηδεμίαν θέμενος.  
 Ἴσχε νόφ, γλώσσης δὲ τὸ μείλιχον αἰὲν ἐπέστω· 365  
 δειλῶν τοι τελέθει καρδίη ὄξυντέρη.

Οὐ δύναμαι γινῶναι νόον ἀστῶν, ὃν τιν' ἔχουσιν·  
 οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς.  
 μωμεῦνται δέ με πολλοί, ὁμῶς κακοὶ ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλοί,  
 μιμείσθαι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀσόφων δύναται. 370

Μὴ μ' ἀέκοντα βίῃ κεντῶν ὑπ' ἄμαξαν ἔλαυνε,  
 εἰς φιλότητα λήν, Κύρνε, προσελκόμενος.

352 μ' ἦν δὴν οὐκ ἐθ. φιλεῖ Α (N. J. xxvii. 453), τί δὴ μ' οὐκ ἐθ. φιλεῖς Ο, τί δὲ  
 δὴ μ' οὐκ ἐθ. φιλεῖς the rest — 355 κ' ἐσθλοῖσιν ΑΟ — 356 οὔτε Α (N. J. xxvii.  
 453) — 359 δέ τι all but Α. ἐπιφαίνων· MSS. — 365 ἴσχι Α. νόον, γλώσση and  
 ἐπέστω all but Α — 366 κραδίη ΑΟz

Ζεῦ φίλε, θαυμάζω σε· σὺ γὰρ πάντεσσιν ἀνάσσεις,  
 τιμὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μεγάλην δύναμιν,  
 ἀνθρώπων δ' εὖ οἶσθα νόον καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου, 375  
 σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἔσθ' ὑπατον, βασιλεῦ·  
 πῶς δὴ σευ, Κρονίδη, τολμᾶ νόος ἄνδρας ἀλιτροὺς  
 ἐν ταυτῇ μοίρῃ τόν τε δίκαιον ἔχειν,  
 ἦν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῇ νόος, ἦν τε πρὸς ὕβριν  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθομένων; 380  
 οὐδέ τι κεκριμένον πρὸς δαίμονός ἐστι βροτοῖσιν,  
 οὐδ' ὁδὸν ἦντιν' ἰὼν ἀθανάτοισιν ἄδοι.  
 ἔμπης δ' ὄλβον ἔχουσιν ἀπήμονα· τοὶ δ' ἀπὸ δειλῶν  
 ἔργων ἴσχοντες θυμὸν ὅμως πενίην  
 μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης ἔλαβον, τὰ δίκαια φιλεῦντες, 385  
 ἢ τ' ἀνδρῶν παράγει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην,  
 βλάπτουσ' ἐν στήθεσσι φρένας κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης·  
 τολμᾶ δ' οὐκ ἐθέλων αἵσχρα πολλὰ φέρειν,  
 χρημοσύνη εἴκων, ἣ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ διδάσκει,  
 ψεύδεά τ' ἐξαπάτας τ' οὐλομένας τ' ἐριδας, 390  
 ἄνδρα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα· κακὸν δέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἔοικεν.....

.....ἣ γὰρ καὶ χαλεπὴν τίκτει ἀμηχανίην.  
 ἐν πενίῃ δ' ὁ τε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ ὁ τε πολλὸν ἀμείνων  
 φαίνεται, εὖτ' ἂν δὴ χρημοσύνη κατέχη.  
 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖ νόος, οὐτέ περ αἰεὶ 395  
 ἰθεῖα γνώμη στήθεσιν ἐμπεφύη·  
 τοῦ δ' αὖτ' οὔτε κακοῖς ἔπεται νόος οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖσι.  
 τὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν τολμᾶν χρὴ τά τε καὶ τὰ φέρειν,

379 *τερφθῇ* MSS. — 382 *ὁδὸς* Oz — 384 *ἴσχωται* or *ἴσχωνται* all but A. *πενίης* all but A (and O which is illegible) — 385 *ἀμηχανίην* all but AO — 386 *παράγει* all but A — 391-2 no gap in the MSS. — 395 *τ' ἀδίκαια* (or *τὰδίκαια*) *φρονεῖ* all but A. *οὔτε* O “et plerique” (Bekker)



αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ φίλους, φεύγειν τ' ὀλεσθήνορας ὄρκους,  
Ἐντράπελ', ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευάμενον.

400

Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος  
ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων. πολλάκι δ' εἰς ἀρετὴν  
σπεύδει ἀνὴρ, κέρδος διζήμενος, ὃν τινα δαίμων  
πρόφρων εἰς μεγάλην ἀμπλακίην παράγει,  
καὶ οἱ ἔθηκε δοκεῖν, ἃ μὲν ἦ κακά, ταῦτ' ἀγάθ' εἶναι, 405  
εὐμαρέως, ἃ δ' ἂν ἦ χρήσιμα, ταῦτα κακά.

Φίλτατος ὢν ἡμαρτες· ἐγὼ δέ σοι αἴτιος οὐδέν,  
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γνώμης οὐκ ἀγαθῆς ἔτυχες.

Οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶν καταθήσει ἀμείνω  
αἰδοῦς, ἢ τ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνη, ἔπεται.

410

Οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων κακίων δοκεῖ εἶναι ἑταῖρος  
ᾧ γνώμη θ' ἔπεται, Κύρνε, καὶ ᾧ δύναμις.  
πίνων δ' οὐχ οὕτως θωρήξομαι, οὐδέ με οἶνος  
ἐξάγει, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν δεινὸν ἔπος περὶ σοῦ.

Οὐδέν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὐρεῖν  
πιστὸν ἑταῖρον, ὅτῳ μὴ τις ἔνεστι δόλος.

415

εἰς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατρίβομαι ὥστε μολίβδῳ  
χρυσός, ὑπερτερῆς δ' ἄμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος.

Πολλά με καὶ συνιέντα παρέρχεται· ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης  
σιγῷ, γινώσκων ἡμετέρεην δύναμιν.

420

400 ἐντράπελ' A, ἔντρεπε δ' the rest. ἀλευάμενος all but A — 407 τοι all but A — 408 ἀγαθήσει ἀμείνω (from 409) A — 409 παισὶ AO — 411 μηδενὸς...δοκεῖ all but A — 413 μετ' A, μ'γ' O (perhaps from με σοῖνος; cf. 440, 508, 574) — 418 νόος all but A and perhaps (Bekker) one other MS.

Πολλοῖς ἀνθρώπων γλώσση θύραι οὐκ ἐπικεῖνται  
 ἀρμόδιαι, καὶ σφιν πόλλ' ἀμέλητα μέλει·  
 πολλάκι γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον,  
 ἐσθλὸν δ' ἐξελθὸν λώιον ἢ τὸ κακόν.

Πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον, 425  
 μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἡελίου·  
 φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι,  
 καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμυσάμενον.

Φῦσαι καὶ θρέψαι ῥᾶον βροτόν, ἢ φρένας ἐσθλὰς  
 ἐνθέμεν· οὐδεὶς πω τοῦτό γ' ἐπεφράσατο, 430  
 ὅστις σῶφρον ἔθηκε τὸν ἄφρονα κακὸν κακοῦ ἐσθλόν.  
 εἰ δ' Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτό γ' ἔδωκε θεός,  
 ἰᾶσθαι κακότητα καὶ ἀτηρὰς φρένας ἀνδρῶν,  
 πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον.  
 εἰ δ' ἦν ποιητόν τε καὶ ἐνθετον ἀνδρὶ νόημα, 435  
 οὐ ποτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἔγεντο κακός,  
 πιεθόμενος μῦθοισι σαόφροσιν. ἀλλὰ διδάσκων  
 οὐ ποτε ποιήσεις τὸν κακὸν ἀνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

Νήπιος, ὃς τὸν ἐμὸν μὲν ἔχει νόον ἐν φυλακῇσι,  
 τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ ἰδίων οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφεται. 440  
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐσθλὸς  
 τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακόν, κούκ ἐπίδηλος ὁμῶς·

424 ἐξελθὼν ΑΟz, -εῖν Stobaeus — 425 for πάντων some quotations of this line give ἀρχῇ — 428 γαῖαν ἐφεσσύμενον Sextus Empiricus — 429 φαῦσαι Α — 431 ὅτις Α. κακὸν κακοῦ Ο, κακοῦ Α, καὶ κακοῦ or -ὸν the rest — 432 οὐδ' Ο, with Clearchus in Athenaeus, Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, who quote this line by itself — 433 ἀπειρὰς ΑΟ — 438 ποιήσει Α — 440 τὸν all but Α. κῆδων Α, κῆδων Ο (perhaps from ἰδ-; cf. 413), ὄβιον the rest — 441 οὐδεὶς γὰρ Α, οὐδεὶς Ο, οὐδεὶς τοι the rest — 442 ἔχων all but Α. δμῶς all but Α

δειλὸς δ' οὐτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπίσταται οὔτε κακοῖσιν  
 θυμὸν ἔχων μίμνειν. ἀθανάτων δὲ δόσεις  
 παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ'. ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾶν 445  
 χρή δῶρ' ἀθανάτων, οἷα διδοῦσιν, ἔχειν.

Εἰ μ' ἐθέλεις πλύνειν, κεφαλῆς ἀμίαντον ἀπ' ἄκρης  
 αἰεὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ ρεύσεται ἡμετέρης·  
 εὐρήσεις δέ με πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἔργασιν ὥσπερ ἄπεφθον  
 χρυσόν, ἐρυθρὸν ἰδεῖν τριβόμενον βασάνῳ, 450  
 τοῦ χροῖης καθύπερθε μέλας οὐχ ἄπτεται ἰὸς  
 οὐδ' εὐρώς, αἰεὶ δ' ἄνθος ἔχει καθαρόν.

Ὦνθρωπ', εἰ γνώμης ἔλαχες μέρος ὥσπερ ἀνοίης,  
 καὶ σώφρων οὕτως ὥσπερ ἄφρων ἐγένου,  
 πολλοῖς ἂν ζηλωτὸς ἐφαίνεο τῶνδε πολιτῶν 455  
 οὕτως ὥσπερ νῦν οὐδενὸς ἄξιος εἶ.

Οὐ τοι σύμφυρόν ἐστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι·  
 οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος,  
 οὐδ' ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν, ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ  
 πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα. 460

Μή ποτ' ἐπ' ἀπρήκτοισι νόον ἔχε, μηδὲ μενοίνα,  
 χρήμασι, τῶν ἀνυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία.

Εὐμαρέως τοι χρῆμα θεοὶ δόσαν οὔτε τι δειλὸν  
 οὐτ' ἀγαθόν· χαλεπῶ δ' ἔργματι κῦδος ἔπι.

443 οὔτε κ. ἐπ. οὐτ' ἀγαθοῖσι(ν) all but A — 444 τε Az — 453 ἄνθρωπ' all but A  
 (and O which is illegible) — 457 σύμφρον ἐνεστι Az; O is illegible; the rest have  
 σύμφερν, σύμφρονόν, or the like — 464 ἔχει all but A

Ἄμφ' ἀρετῇ τρίβου, καί τοι τὰ δίκαια φίλ' ἔστω, 465  
μηδέ σε νικάτω κέρδος ὃ τ' αἰσχροὺν ἔη.

Μηδένα τῶνδ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν,  
μηδὲ θύραζε κέλευ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντ' ἵεναι,  
μηδ' εὐδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, *Κιμωνίδη*, ὃν τιν' ἂν ἡμῶν  
θωρηχθέντ' οἶνω μαλθακὸς ὕπνος ἔλη, 470  
μηδὲ τὸν ἀγρυπνέοντα κέλευ' ἀέκοντα καθεύδειν·  
πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον χρῆμ' ἀνιερὸν ἔφυ·  
τῷ πίνειν δ' ἐθέλοντι παρασταδὸν οἰνοχοεῖτω.  
οὐ πάσας νύκτας γίνεται ἀβρὰ παθεῖν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγώ, μέτρον γὰρ ἔχω μελιηδέος οἴνου, 475  
ὕπνου λυσικάκου μνήσομαι οἴκαδ' ἰών,  
ἥξω δ' ὡς οἶνος χαριέστατος ἀνδρὶ πεπόσθαι·  
οὔτε τι γὰρ νήφω, οὔτε λίην μεθύω.  
ὅς δ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτι κείνος  
τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτερὸς οὐδὲ νόου, 480  
μυθεῖται δ' ἀπάλαμνα, τὰ νήφοσι γίνεται αἰσχρά,  
αἰδεῖται δ' ἔρδων οὐδέν, ὅταν μεθύῃ,  
τὸ πρὶν ἐὼν σώφρων, τότε νήπιος. ἀλλὰ σὺ ταῦτα  
γινώσκων, μὴ πῖν' οἶνον ὑπερβολάδην,  
ἀλλ' ἢ πρὶν μεθύειν ὑπανίστασο—μή σε βιάσθω 485  
γαστήρ ὥστε κακὸν λάτριν ἐφημέριον—,  
ἢ παρεὼν μὴ πῖνε. σὺ δ' Ἐγχεε τοῦτο μάταιον  
κωτίλλεις αἰεὶ· τοῦνεκά τοι μεθύεις.  
ἢ μὲν γὰρ φέρεται φιλοτήσιος, ἢ δὲ πρόκειται,  
τὴν δὲ θεοῖς σπένδεις, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ χειρὸς ἔχεις· 490  
αἰνεῖσθαι δ' οὐκ οἶδας. ἀνίκητος δέ τοι οὗτος,  
ὅς πολλὰς πίνων μὴ τι μάταιον ἐρεῖ.

465 σοι all but A — 466 στ' MSS. *ἐη* A, *ἐθει* O, *ἐει* the rest — 477 δελξω two MSS.  
— 478 οὔτε τοι γὰρ Oz — 491 ἀρνεῖσθαι all but A — 492 πολλὸν A

ὕμεις δ' εὖ μυθεῖσθε παρὰ κρητῆρι μένοντες,  
 ἀλλήλων ἔριδος δὴν ἀπερνεκόμενοι,  
 ἐς τὸ μέσον φωνεῦντες ὁμῶς ἐνὶ καὶ συνάπασι· 495  
 χούτως συμπόσιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι.

Ἄφρονος ἀνδρὸς ὁμῶς καὶ σῶφρονος οἶνος, ὅταν δὴ  
 πίνη ὑπὲρ μέτρον, κούφον ἔθηκε νόον.

Ἐν πυρὶ μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον ἱδρῖες ἄνδρες  
 γινώσκουσ', ἀνδρὸς δ' οἶνος ἔδειξε νόον, 500  
 καὶ μάλα περ πινυτοῦ, τὸν ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἦρατο πίνων,  
 ὥστε καταισχῦναι καὶ πρὶν ἑόντα σοφόν.

Οἶνοβαρέω κεφαλὴν, Ὀνομάκριτε, καὶ με βιάται  
 οἶνος, ἀτὰρ γνώμης οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ ταμίης  
 ἡμετέρης, τὸ δὲ δῶμα περιτρέχει. ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἀναστὰς 505  
 πειρηθῶ, μή πως καὶ πόδας οἶνος ἔχει  
 καὶ νόον ἐν στήθεσσι. δέδοικα δὲ μή τι μάταιον  
 ἔρξω θωρηχθεὶς καὶ μέγ' ὄνειδος ἔχω.

Οἶνος πινόμενος πουλὺς κακόν· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὸν  
 πίνη ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν. 510

Ἦλθες δὴ, Κλεάριστε, βαθὺν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσας,  
 ἐνθάδ' ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔχοντ', ὧ τάλαν, οὐδὲν ἔχων.  
 νηὸς τοι πλευρῇσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὰ θήσομεν ἡμεῖς,  
 Κλεάρισθ', οἱ ἔχομεν χοῖα διδοῦσι θεοί·

494 ἔριδος all but A. δὴν A — 495 συνάπασι A, σὺν ἅπασιν the rest — 498 πίνῃ Stobaeus; πίνῃτ' A, πίνῃθ' O, πίνεθ' the rest — 499 ἐμπυρὶ A (cf. 900, 1115) — 504 γνώμης (ν and μ erased in A) MSS., γλώσσης Bergk — 509 πολλοῖς and αὐτῶν O

τῶν δ' ὄντων τᾶριστα παρέξομεν. ἦν δέ τις ἔλθη 515  
 σεῦ φίλος ὦν, κατάκεισ' ὡς φιλότητος ἔχεις·  
 οὔτε τι τῶν ὄντων ἀποθήσομαι, οὔτε τι μείζον  
 σῆς ἔνεκα ξενίης ἄλλοθεν οἰσόμεθα.  
 ἦν δέ τις εἰρωτᾷ τὸν ἐμὸν βίον, ὧδέ οἱ εἰπείν·  
 Ὡς εὖ μὲν χαλεπῶς, ὡς χαλεπῶς δὲ μάλ' εὖ, 520  
 ὥσθ' ἓνα μὲν ξεῖνον πατρώιον οὐκ ἀπολείπειν,  
 ξείνια δὲ πλεόνεσσ' οὐ δυνατὸς παρέχειν.

Οὐ σε μάτην, ὦ Πλούτε, βροτοὶ τιμῶσι μάλιστα·  
 ἦ γὰρ ρηιδίως τὴν κακότητα φέρεις.  
 καὶ γὰρ τοι πλούτον μὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἔοικεν, 525  
 ἢ πενίη δὲ κακῷ σύμφορος ἀνδρὶ φέρειν.

Ὡ μοι ἐγὼν ἥβης καὶ γήραος οὐλομένοιο,  
 τοῦ μὲν ἐπερχομένου, τῆς δ' ἀπονισομένης.

Οὐδένα πω προῦδωκα φίλον καὶ πιστὸν ἐταῖρον,  
 οὐδ' ἐν ἐμῇ ψυχῇ δούλιον οὐδὲν ἔνι. 530

Αἰεὶ μοι φίλον ἦτορ ἰαίνεται, ὅπποτ' ἀκούσω  
 αὐλῶν φθεγγομένων ἱμερόεσσαν ὄπα·  
 χαίρω δ' εὖ πίνων καὶ ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος αἰείδων,  
 χαίρω δ' εὐφθογγον χερσὶ λύρην ὀχέων.

Οὔποτε δουλείη κεφαλὴ ἰθεῖα πέφυκεν, 535  
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σκολιή, καυχένα λοξὸν ἔχει.

515 τὰ ἄριστα MSS. δέ τις all but A, δε ης (*Hermes* xv. 527) or διης (*N.J.* xxvii.  
 453) A — 516 φιλοτητος A — 517 μείζω A — 522 πλέον ἐστ' οἱ πλέον' ἐστ' MSS. —  
 527 ὦμοι A — 529 οὐδένα πρ. A, οὐδέ τινα πρ. O, οὔτε τινα πρ....οὐτ' the rest —  
 533 ἀκούων MSS., probably from ἀκούσω above — 535 ἰθεῖα A, εὐθεία the rest with  
 Stobaeus

οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ σκίλλης ρόδα φύεται οὐδ' ὑάκινθος,  
οὔτε ποτ' ἐκ δούλης τέκνον ἐλευθέριον.

Οὗτος ἀνὴρ, φίλε Κύρνε, πέδας χαλκεύεται αὐτῷ,  
εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι θεοί.

540

Δειμαίνω μὴ τήνδε πόλιν, Πολυπαῖδη, ὕβρις,  
ἥπερ Κενταύρους ὠμοφάγους ὄλεσεν.

Χρή με παρὰ στάθμην καὶ γνώμονα τήνδε δικάσσαι,  
Κύρνε, δίκην, ἴσόν τ' ἀμφοτέροισι δόμεν,  
μάντεσὶ τ' οἰωνοῖς τε καὶ αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσιν,  
ὄφρα μὴ ἀμπλακίης αἰσχροὺν ὄνειδος ἔχω.

545

Μηδένα πω κακότητι βιάζεο· τῷ δὲ δικαίῳ  
τῆς εὐεργεσίης οὐδὲν ἀρειότερον.

Ἄγγελος ἄφθογγος πόλεμον πολὺδακρυν ἐγείρει,  
Κύρν', ἀπὸ τηλαυγέος φαινόμενος σκοπιῆς.  
ἀλλ' ἵπποις ἐμβαλλε ταχυπτέρνοισι χαλινούς·  
δήων γὰρ σφ' ἀνδρῶν ἀντιάσειν δοκέω.  
οὐ πολλὸν τὸ μεσηγύ· διαπρήξουσι κέλευθον,  
εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι θεοί.

550

Χρή τολμᾶν χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσι κείμενον ἄνδρα,  
πρὸς τε θεῶν αἰτεῖν ἐκλυσιν ἀθανάτων.

555

537 οὐθ' MSS. — 538 οὐδέ MSS. — 539 οὔτις all but A. αὐτῷ Az — 542 so A, ὄλεσε (with ἀναύξησης ἰωνικῶς in the margin) O, ὄλεση the rest — 543 γνώμην all but A — 544 Bergk marked a lacuna after this line — 545 μάντεσιν all but A — 547 καὶ Bergk — 548 ευεργεσιῆς A (cf. 413)

Φράζεο· κίνδυνός τοι ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς·  
 ἄλλοτε πόλλ' ἔξεις, ἄλλοτε πανρότερα,  
 ὥστε σε μήτε λήν ἀφνεὸν κτεάτεσσι γενέσθαι,  
 μήτε σέ γ' ἐς πολλὴν χρημοσύνην ἐλάσαι. 560

Εἴη μοι τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ πόλλ' ἐπιδούναι  
 χρήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἔχειν.

Κεκλῆσθαι δ' ἐς δαῖτα, παρέξεσθαι δὲ παρ' ἐσθλὸν  
 ἄνδρα χρεῶν, σοφίην πᾶσαν ἐπιστάμενον·  
 τοῦ συνιεῖν, ὅπότε ἂν τι λέγῃ σοφόν, ὄφρα διδαχθῆς, 565  
 καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς οἶκον κέρδος ἔχων ἀπίης.

Ἦβη τερπόμενος παίζω· δηρὸν γὰρ ἔνερθεν  
 γῆς ὀλέσας ψυχὴν κείσομαι ὥστε λίθος  
 ἀφθογγος, λείψω δ' ἐρατὸν φάος ἡελίοιο,  
 ἔμπης δ' ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν ὄψομαι οὐδὲν ἔτι. 570

Δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα, πείρα δ' ἄριστον·  
 πολλοὶ ἀπείρητοι δόξαν ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν.

Εὖ ἔρδων εὖ πάσχε· τί κ' ἄγγελον ἄλλον ἰάλλοις;  
 τῆς εὐεργεσίης ῥῆδῃ ἀγγελίῃ.

Οἱ με φίλοι προδιδούσιν, ἐπεὶ τόν γ' ἐχθρὸν ἀλεῦμαι 575  
 ὥστε κυβερνήτης χοιράδας εἰναλίας.

557 φράζεο δ' ὁ κ. Α — 559 ὥστε σε (*Mnemosyne* viii. 311) οἱ ὥστεσσε (*Hermes* xv. 529) Α; λῶσά σε Geel — 561 αὐτῶν Α — 563 παρέξεσθαι Α — 572 ἀπείρητων all but Α — 573 πασχ' ἐτι Α, πράττε τί the rest. ἰάλλεις all but Α — 574 εὐ-γεργεσίης Α (cf. 548). ῥῆδῃ ἀγγελίῃ Ο, ῥηιδιαιγγελίῃ Α — 576 εἰναλίους Ο (for Α see *Hermes* xv. 529)



Ῥήδιον ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ θεῖναι κακὸν ἢ ἔκ κακοῦ ἐσθλόν.  
μή με δίδασκ'· οὐ τοι τηλίκος εἰμὶ μαθεῖν.

Ἐχθαίρω κακὸν ἄνδρα, καλυψαμένη δὲ πάρεμι,  
σμικρῆς ὄρνιθος κοῦφον ἔχουσα νόον.

580

Ἐχθαίρω δὲ γυναῖκα περιδρομον, ἄνδρα τε μάργον  
ὅς τὴν ἀλλοτρίην βούλετ' ἄρουραν ἀροῦν.

Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν προβέβηκεν, ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι  
ἀεργά· τὰ δ' ἐξοπίσω, τῶν φυλακὴ μελέτω.

Πᾶσιν τοι κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν  
πῇ σχήσειν μέλλει, πρήγματος ἀρχομένου·  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὐδοκιμεῖν πειρώμενος οὐ προνοήσας  
εἰς μεγάλην ἄτην καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔπεσεν,  
τῷ δὲ καλῶς ποιεῦντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα τίθησιν  
συντυχίην ἀγαθὴν, ἔκλυσιν ἀφροσύνης.

585

590

Τολμᾶν χρὴ τὰ διδοῦσι θεοὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι,  
ρήιδίως δὲ φέρειν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ λάχος,  
μήτε κακοῖσιν ἀσώντα λῆν φρένα, μήτ' ἀγαθοῖσι  
τερφθέντ' ἐξαπίνης, πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰδεῖν.

Ἄνθρωπ', ἀλλήλοισιν ἀπόπροθεν ὤμεν ἐταῖροι·  
πλὴν πλούτου παντὸς χρήματός ἐστι κόρος.  
δὴν δὴ καὶ φίλοι ὤμεν· ἀτάρ τ' ἄλλοισιν ὁμίλει  
ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τὸν σὸν μᾶλλον ἴσασι νόον.

595

577 ῥήμον has been proposed. θειραι A — 584 ἐργα A, ἐργα the rest — 586 ποῖ all but A and one other ms. — 593-4 μήτε κακοῖσιν ἀσώντα λην...τερφθῆς δ' A, μήτε κακοῖσι νοσοῦντα λυποῦ...τερφθῆς O, μ. κ. νοσῶν λυποῦ...τερφθῆς the rest — 596 τούτου all but AO — 597 ὁμίλει all but A

οὐ μ' ἔλαθες φοιτῶν κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν ἣν ἄρα καὶ πρὶν  
 ἡλᾶστρεις, κλέπτων ἡμετέρην φιλίην. 600  
 ἔρρε, θεοῖσιν τ' ἐχθρὲ καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἄπιστε,  
 ψυχρὸν ὃς ἐν κόλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχες ὄφιν.

Τοιάδε καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσεν ἔργα καὶ ὕβρις,  
 οἷα τὰ νῦν ἱερὴν τήνδε πόλιν κατέχει.

Πολλῷ τοι πλέονας λιμοῦ κόρος ὤλεσεν ἤδη 605  
 ἄνδρας, ὅσοι μοίρης πλεῖον ἔχειν ἔθελον.

Ἀρχῇ ἔπι ψεύδους μικρὰ χάρις· εἰς δὲ τελευτὴν  
 αἰσχροὺν δὴ κέρδος καὶ κακόν, ἀμφότερον,  
 γίνεται. οὐδὲ τι καλόν, ὅτῳ ψεύδος προσομαρτῇ  
 ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐξέλθῃ πρῶτον ἀπὸ στόματος. 610

Οὐ χαλεπὸν ψέξαι τὸν πλησίον, οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτὸν  
 αἰνῆσαι· δειλοῖς ἀνδράσι ταῦτα μέλει·  
 σιγαῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι κακοὶ κακὰ λεσχάζοντες·  
 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ πάντων μέτρον ἴσασιν ἔχειν.

Οὐδένα παμπήδην ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέτριον ἄνδρα 615  
 τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἥελιος καθορᾷ.

Οὔτι μάλ' ἀνθρώποις καταθύμια πάντα τελεῖται·  
 πολλὸν γὰρ θνητῶν κρέσσονες ἀθάνατοι.

Πόλλ' ἐν ἀμηχανίῃσι κυλίνδομαι ἀχνύμενος κῆρ·  
 ἄκρην γὰρ πενίην οὐχ ὑπερεδράμομεν. 620

Πᾶς τις πλούσιον ἄνδρα τίει, ἀτίει δὲ πενιχρόν·  
πᾶσιν δ' ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς ἔνεστι νόος.

Παντοῖαι κακότητες ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔασιν,  
παντοῖαι δ' ἀρεταὶ καὶ βιότου παλάμαι.

Ἀργαλέον φρονέοντα παρ' ἄφροσι πόλλ' ἀγορεύειν, 625  
καὶ σιγᾶν αἰεὶ· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ δυνατόν.

Αἰσχρόν τοι μεθύοντα παρ' ἀνδράσι νήφουσιν εἶναι,  
αἰσχρόν δ' εἰ νήφων παρ μεθύουσι μένει.

Ἦβη καὶ νεότης ἐπικουφίζει νόον ἀνδρός,  
πολλῶν δ' ἐξαίρει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμπλακίην. 630

ὦ τιμι μὴ θυμοῦ κρείσσων νόος, αἰὲν ἐν ἅταις,  
Κύρνε, καὶ ἐν μεγάλαις κεῖται ἀμχαναίαις.

Βουλεύου δις καὶ τρίς, ὅ τοί κ' ἐπὶ τὸν νόον ἔλθῃ·  
ἀτηρὸς γὰρ τοι λάβρος ἀνὴρ τελέθει.

Ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔπεται γνώμη τε καὶ αἰδώς· 635  
οἱ νῦν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀτρεκέως ὀλίγοι.

Ἐλπίς καὶ κίνδυνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὁμοιοί·  
οὔτοι γὰρ χαλεποὶ δαίμονες ἀμφοτέροι.

Πολλάκι παρ δόξαν τε καὶ ἐλπίδα γίνεται εὖ ρεῖν  
ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν, βουλαῖς δ' οὐκ ἐπέγεντο τέλος. 640

627 so A (or νήφουσι μέναι, *Mnemosyne* viii. 313), νήφουσ' εἶναι the rest —  
631 ὥτινι A, ὥπερ OZ, ὥσπερ or οὗπερ or περ the rest — 632 κυρν—καὶ μεγάλας  
κεῖται ἐναμπλακίαις (with an erasure) A; Κύρνε καὶ μ. κ. ἐν ἀμπλ. O, and so, or with  
τι or ὄγε or the like inserted, the rest — 634 ἀτειρὸς O (cf. 433) — 636 so Stobaeus;  
οὐ or οἱ (*Mnemosyne* viii. 313) A, οὐ the rest; μὲν and δ' ὀλίγοις all but A —  
639 ευρεῖν A, εὐρεῖν the rest; ἔρρειν van der Mey

Οὐ τοί κ' εἰδείης οὐτ' εὖνουν οὔτε τὸν ἐχθρόν,  
εἰ μὴ σπουδαίου πρήγματος ἀντιτύχοις.

Πολλοὶ παρ κρητῆρι φίλοι γίνονται ἐταῖροι,  
ἐν δὲ σπουδαίῳ πρήγματι παυρότεροι.

Παύρους κηδεμόνας πιστοὺς εὖροις κεν ἐταίρους 645  
κείμενος ἐν μεγάλῃ θυμὸν ἀμηχανίῃ.

Ἦδη νῦν αἰδῶς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὄλωλεν,  
αὐτὰρ ἀναιδείῃ γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται.

Ἄ δειλὴ πενίη, τί ἐμοῖς ἐπικειμένη ὤμοις  
σῶμα κατασχύνεις καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον, 650  
αἰσχρὰ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίῃ καὶ πολλὰ διδάσκεις,  
ἐσθλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ κάλ' ἐπιστάμενον;

Εὐδαίμων εἶην καὶ θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισι,  
Κύρνη· ἀρετῆς δ' ἄλλης οὐδεμιῆς ἔραμαι.

Κύν τοι, Κύρνε, παθόντι κακῶς ἀνιώμεθα πάντες· 655  
ἀλλὰ τοι ἀλλότριον κῆδος ἐφημέριον.

Μηδὲν ἄγαν χαλεποῖσιν ἀσῶ φρένα μηδ' ἀγαθοῖσι  
χαῖρ', ἐπεὶ ἔστ' ἀνδρὸς πάντα φέρειν ἀγαθοῦ.  
οὐδ' ὁμόσαι χρὴ τοῦθ', ὅτι μήποτε πρᾶγμα τόδ' ἔσται·  
θεοὶ γάρ τοι νεμεσῶσ', οἷσιν ἔπεστι τέλος· 660  
καὶ πρῆξαι μέντοι τι. καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸν ἔγεντο,  
καὶ κακὸν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· καί τε πενιχρὸς ἀνὴρ

641 κ' εἰδείης A, κῆσει ὁ εἰς (N.J. xxviii. 447) O, κῆσει ὁ εἰς Z. εὖνουν has been proposed — 646 θυμοῦ all but AO — 648 ἀναιδείῃ O — 649 so A with Stobaeus, ἐμοῖσι καθήμενῃ the rest — 651 καὶ mss., κακὰ Stobaeus — 652 μετ' A with Stobaeus, παρ' the rest — 653 κε A — 655 σοὶ all but A — 659 τοῦτο τί A, τοῦτο O, τοῦτο τι the rest — 660 γάρ τε AO, καὶ γάρ the rest

αἶψα μάλ' ἐπλούτησε· καὶ ὃς μάλ' ἀ πολλὰ πέπαται,  
 ἐξαπίνης πάντ' οὖν ὤλεσε νυκτὶ μιῇ·  
 καὶ σῶφρων ἤμαρτε, καὶ ἄφρονι πολλάκι δόξα 665  
 ἔσπετο, καὶ τιμῆς καὶ κακὸς ὧν ἔλαχεν.

Εἰ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχοιμι, Cιμωνίδη, οἷά περ ἦδη  
 οὐκ ἂν ἀνιῶμην τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι συνών·  
 νῦν δέ με γινώσκοντα παρέρχεται, εἰμὶ δ' ἄφρωνος  
 χρημοσύνη, πολλῶν γνούς ἂν ἄμεινον ἔτι, 670  
 οὐνεκα νῦν φερόμεσθα καθ' ἰστία λευκὰ βαλόντες  
 Μηλίου ἐκ πόντου νύκτα διὰ δνοφερήν·  
 ἀντλεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν· ὑπερβάλλει δὲ θάλασσα  
 ἀμφοτέρων τοίχων· ἧ μάλ' αἱ τις χαλεπῶς  
 σφίζεται· οἱ δ' ἔρδουσι· κυβερνήτην μὲν ἔπαυσαν 675  
 ἐσθλόν, ὅτις φυλακὴν εἶχεν ἐπισταμένως·  
 χρήματα δ' ἀρπάζουσι βίῃ, κόσμος δ' ἀπόλωλεν,  
 δασμὸς δ' οὐκέτ' ἴσος γίνεται ἐς τὸ μέσον,  
 φορτηγοὶ δ' ἄρχουσι, κακοὶ δ' ἀγαθῶν καθύπερθεν·  
 δειμαίνω μὴ πως ναῦν κατὰ κῦμα πίῃ. 680  
 ταῦτά μοι ἡνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι·  
 γινώσκοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ κακός, ἂν σοφὸς ἦ.

Πολλοὶ πλοῦτον ἔχουσιν αἰδρίες· οἱ δὲ τὰ καλὰ  
 ζητοῦσιν χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ.

663 δὲ (for καὶ) A. πέπαται (from πέπασται, *N. J.* xxvii. 453) A, πεπρασται (*N. J.* xxviii. 448) O, πέπασται the rest — 664 ἐξ. αποτοῦν ὦλ. A, ἐξ. πάντα ὦλ. O, ἐξ. πάντ' οὖν ὦλ. the rest; ἐξ. ἀπο τ' οὖν ὦλ. and ἐξ. ἀπὸ πάντ' ὦλ. have been proposed — 667 ἦδειν all but A — 668 ἀνοίμην A — 670 γνούς ἂν Z, γνοῦσαν A, γνούς περ one MS.; γνούς (*N. J.* xxviii. 447: but according to Bekker γρούς περ) O — 675 ἐθδοῦσι all but AO; Bekker suggested σφίζεται, αὐ' ἔρδουσι — 676 so A, ἐσθλόν δ' ὅς φ. O, ἐ. γ' ὅς (ὡς) φ. the rest — 681 κακόν MSS.

ἔρδειν δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἀμηχανίη παράκειται· 685  
εἵργει γὰρ τοὺς μὲν χρήματα, τοὺς δὲ νόος.

Οὐκ ἔστι θνητοῖσι πρὸς ἀθανάτους μαχέσασθαι,  
οὐδὲ δίκην εἰπεῖν· οὐδένι τοῦτο θέμις.

Οὐ χρὴ πημαίνειν ὃ τι μὴ πημαντέον εἴη,  
οὐδ' ἔρδειν ὃ τι μὴ λώιον ἢ τελέσαι. 690

Χαίρων εὖ τελέσειας ὁδὸν μεγάλου διὰ πόντον,  
καί σε Ποσειδάων χάρμα φίλοις ἀνάγοι.

Πολλούς τοι κόρος ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσεν ἀφραίνοντας·  
γινῶναι γὰρ χαλεπὸν μέτρον, ὅτ' ἐσθλὰ παρῇ.

Οὐ δύναμαί σοι, θυμέ, παρασχεῖν ἄρμενα πάντα· 695  
τέτλαθι· τῶν δὲ καλῶν οὔτι σὺ μῦνος ἐράς.

Εὖ μὲν ἔχοντος ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ φίλοι· ἦν δέ τι δεινὸν  
συγκύρση, παῦροι πιστὸν ἔχουσι νόον.

Πλήθει δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ μία γίνεται ἥδε,  
πλουτεῖν· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν ὄφελος, 700  
οὐδ' εἰ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχοις Ῥαδαμάνθυος αὐτοῦ,  
πλείονα δ' εἰδείης Cισύφου Αἰολίδεω,  
ὅστε καὶ ἐξ Ἀΐδεω πολυιδρίησιν ἀνῆλθεν,  
πέισας Περσεφόνην αἰμυλίοισι λόγοις,  
ἥτε βροτοῖς παρέχει λήθην, βλάβπτουσα νόοιο— 705  
ἄλλος δ' οὐ πῶ τις τοὔτ' ὃ γ' ἐπεφράσατο,

689 ὅτε AOz. εἴη MSS., ἦη Bergk — 690 ὅτε Oz — 692 ἀγάγ- MSS., but in A corrected to ἀναγ- (Hermes xv. 519) — 696 μῦνος AOz — 697 οὐ A — 698 ἐγκόρη all but A — 703 αἰδαο all but A. πολυιδρίησιν O

ὄντινα δὴ θανάτοιο μέλαν νέφος ἀμφικαλύψῃ,  
 ἔλθῃ δὲ σκιερὸν χῶρον ἀποφθιμένων,  
 κυανέας τε πύλας παραμείψεται, αἶτε θανόντων  
 ψυχὰς εἵργουσιν καίπερ ἀναινομένας· 710  
 ἀλλ' ἄρα κάκειθεν πάλιν ἤλυθε Cίσυφος ἥρως  
 ἐς φάος ἡελίου σφῆσι πολυφροσύναις.—  
 οὐδ' εἰ ψευδέα μὲν ποιοῖς ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,  
 γλῶσσαν ἔχων ἀγαθὴν Νέστορος ἀντιθέου,  
 ὠκύτερος δ' εἴσθα πόδας ταχέων Ἀρπυιῶν 715  
 καὶ παίδων Βορέω, τῶν ἄφαρ εἰσὶ πόδες.  
 ἀλλὰ χρὴ πάντας γνώμην ταύτην καταθέσθαι,  
 ὥς πλοῦτος πλείστην πᾶσιν ἔχει δύναμιν.

Ἴσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν, ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι  
 καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία 720  
 ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ὧ τὰ δέοντα πάρεστι  
 γαστρί τε καὶ πλευραῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἀβρὰ παθεῖν,  
 παιδός τ' ἡδὲ γυναικός· ὅταν δέ κε τῶν ἀφίκηται  
 ὦρῃ, σὺν δ' ἤβῃ γίνεται ἀρμοδία,  
 ταῦτ' ἄφενος θνητοῖσι· τὰ γὰρ περιώσια πάντα 725  
 χρήματ' ἔχων οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται εἰς Αἶδew,  
 οὐδ' ἂν ἄποινα διδούς θάνατον φύγοι οὐδὲ βαρείας  
 νούσους οὐδὲ κακὸν γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.

707 -οι (or -ει) all but A — 708 ἐλθῃ A, ἐλθῃ O, ἐλθοι the rest. δε σκιερὸν (*Mnemosyne* viii. 315, but according to Bekker δ' ἐς σκιερὸν) A, δ' ἐς σκιερὸν OZ, δ' ἐς κριερὸν or κρυερὸν the rest. ἀποφθιμένος (note the accent) A — 711 so A, π.

ἤλθε σισύφορ γ' ἥρως O, σίσυφος π. ἤλυθεν ἥρως the rest — 713 ψευδέα A (*Mnemosyne* viii. 316), ψεύδεα the rest. ποιεῖς all but A — 715 ταχέων A, ταχέων O, ταχεῶν the rest — 717 ταυτη. (ν erased) A, ταύτῃ Bergk — 721 τα λεοντα A, τάδε πάντα Stobaeus — 724 ἀρμόδιος all but A; ἀρμονία two MSS. of Stobaeus, ἀρμοδία the rest

Φροντίδες ἀνθρώπων ἔλαχον πτερά ποικίλ' ἔχουσαι,  
μυρόμεναι ψυχῆς εἵνεκα καὶ βίотου. 730

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν ἀλιτροῖς  
ὔβριν ἀδεῖν, καὶ σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον,  
θυμῷ σχέτλια ἔργα μετὰ φρεσὶ δ' ὅστις ἀθηρῇ  
ἐργάζοιτο, θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος,  
αὐτὸν ἔπειτα πάλιν τίσαι κακά, μηδ' ἔτ' ὀπίσσω 735  
πατρὸς ἀτασθαλίας παισὶ γένοιτο κακόν·  
παῖδες θ' οἷτ' ἀδίκου πατρὸς τὰ δίκαια νοεῦντες  
ποιῶσιν, Κρονίδη, σὸν χόλον ἀζόμενοι,  
ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ δίκαια μετ' ἀστοῖσιν φιλέοντες,  
μή τιν' ὑπερβασίην ἀντιτίειν πατέρων. 740  
ταῦτ' εἰ μακάρεσσι θεοῖς φίλα· νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἔρδων  
ἐκφεύγει, τὸ κακὸν δ' ἄλλος ἔπειτα φέρει.  
καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστι δίκαιον,  
ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων,  
μή τιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων μηδ' ὄρκον ἀλιτρόν, 745  
ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐὼν μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;  
τίς δὴ κεν βροτὸς ἄλλος, ὁρῶν πρὸς τοῦτον, ἔπειτα  
ἄξοιτ' ἀθανάτους, καὶ τίνα θυμὸν ἔχων,  
ὁππότε ἀνὴρ ἀδικος καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, οὔτε τευ ἀνδρὸς  
οὔτε τευ ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευόμενος, 750  
ὑβρίζῃ πλούτῳ κεκορημένος, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι  
τρύχονται χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ;

733 μετὰ φρεσὶ θ' Ο, δια τὰ φρεσὶ δ' Α, μετὰ φρεσὶ δ' the rest. αθ...ης (with an erasure) Α, ἀθήνης the rest — 736 -ια Α, -ια Ο, -ιη the rest. γένοιτο all but Α — 737 θ' Ο, τ' Α, δ' the rest — 738 παιῶσιν or ποιῶσιν Α, ποιούσι the rest — 739 Α omits τὰ — 745 μήθ' MSS. — 747 κεν Α, καὶ (or γάρ) the rest — 749 τε or τι Ο — 750 τι all but Α — 751 ὑβρίζει all but Α



Ταῦτα μαθὼν, φίλ' ἐταῖρε, δικαίως χρήματα ποιοῦ,  
 σώφρονα θυμὸν ἔχων ἐκτὸς ἀτασθαλίας,  
 αἰεὶ τῶνδ' ἐπέων μεμνημένος· εἰς δὲ τελευτὴν 755  
 αἰνήσεις μύθῳ σώφρονι πειθόμενος.

Ζεὺς μὲν τῇσδε πόλῃος ὑπειρέχοι, αἰθέρι ναίων,  
 αἰεὶ δεξιτερὴν χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἀπημοσύνη,  
 ἄλλοι τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοί· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων 760  
 ὀρθῶσαι γλῶσσαν καὶ νόον ἡμέτερον·  
 φόρμιγγ' δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἡδὲ καὶ αὐλός·  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ σπονδὰς θεοῖσιν ἀρεσσάμενοι  
 πίνωμεν, χαρίεντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες,  
 μηδὲν τὸν Μῆδων δειδιότες πόλεμον.  
 ὦδ' εἴη κεν ἄμεινον· ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας 765  
 νόσφι μεριμνᾶν εὐφροσύνῳς διάγειν  
 τερπομένους, τηλοῦ δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἀμῦναι,  
 γῆράς τ' οὐλόμενον καὶ θανάτοιο τέλος.

Χρὴ Μουσῶν θεράποντα καὶ ἄγγελον, εἴ τι περισσὸν  
 εἰδέῃη, σοφίης μὴ φθονερὸν τελέθειν, 770  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα δὲ ποιεῖν·  
 τί σφιν χρήσεται μῦθος ἐπιστάμενος;

Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωσας πόλιν ἄκρην,  
 Ἀλκαθίῳ Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαριζόμενος·  
 αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν Μῆδων ἀπέρυκε 775  
 τῇσδε πόλεως, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ

760 ὀρθῶσαι or ὀρθῶσαι A, ἀρθῶσαι Oz, ἀρθῶσαι the rest — 761 φόρμιγγ' δ' av A, φόρμιγγ' αὖ the rest. φθέγγοιθ' Oz, φθέγγοισθ' Az. αὐλῶ all but A — 762 -όμενοι from -άμενοι A, -όμενοι O — 765 ὦδ' εἴη καὶ ἄμεινον εὐφρονα A, ὦδ' εἶναι καὶ ἄμεινονα εὐφρονα the rest — 771 μῶσθαι A. δεικνύναι AO

ἦρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ' ἐκατόμβας,  
 τερπόμενοι κιθάρῃ καὶ ἐρατῇ θαλῇ  
 παιάνων τε χοροῖς ἰαχῆσί τε σὸν περὶ βωμόν.  
 ἦ γὰρ ἔγωγε δέδοικ' ἀφραδίην ἐσορῶν 780  
 καὶ στάσιν Ἑλλήνων λαοφθόρον. ἀλλὰ σύ, Φοῖβε,  
 ἵλαος ἡμετέρην τήνδε φύλασσε πόλιν.  
 ἦλθον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ εἰς Κικελὴν ποτε γαῖαν,  
 ἦλθον δ' Εὐβοίης ἀμπελόεν πεδίον,  
 Σπάρτην τ' Εὐρώτα δονακοτρόφου ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ, 785  
 καὶ μ' ἐφίλειεν προφρόνως πάντες ἐπερχόμενον·  
 ἀλλ' οὔτις μοι τέρψις ἐπὶ φρένας ἦλθεν ἐκείνων·  
 οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν φίλτερον ἄλλο πάτρης.

Μὴ ποτέ μοι μελέδημα νεώτερον ἄλλο φανείη  
 ἀντ' ἀρετῆς σοφίης τ', ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰὲν ἔχων 790  
 τερποίμην φόρμιγγι καὶ ὄρχηθμῷ καὶ αἰοιδῇ,  
 καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιμι νόον.

Μῆτε τινὰ ξείνων δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι λυγροῖς  
 μήτε τιν' ἐνδήμων, ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐών,  
 τὴν σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε· δυσηλεγέων δὲ πολιτῶν 795  
 ἄλλος τοί σε κακῶς, ἄλλος ἄμεινον ἐρεῖ.

Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλος μάλα μέμφεται, ἄλλος ἐπαινεῖ·  
 τῶν δὲ κακῶν μνήμη γίνεται οὐδεμία.

778 κιθαρη...ερατη ('von den drei oder vier ausradirten Buchstaben ist kein Strich erkennbar,' *Hermes* xv. 527) A — 779 ἰαχοῖσι A, -αῖσι the rest — 785 δ' AO — 786 με φίλειεν A — 790 all but A omit τ'; ἐρατῆς σοφίης Vinetus — 792 ν...ν (with erasure: *Hermes* xv. 529) A — 793 ξείνον all but A — 796 τοι σε A, τοῖσδε the rest

Ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄψεκτος ἐπὶ χθονὶ γίνεται οὐδεὶς·  
ἀλλ' ὥς λώιον, εἰ μὴ πλεόνεσσι μέλοι.

800

Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ἔσσεται οὔτε πέφυκεν,  
ὅστις πᾶσιν ἀδῶν δύσεται εἰς Ἀίδεω·  
οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅς θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει,  
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, θνητοῖς πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναται.

Τόρνον καὶ στάθμης καὶ γνώμονος ἄνδρα θεωρὸν 805

εὐθύτερον χρή ἱμεν, Κύρνε, φυλασσόμενον,  
ὧ τινί κεν Πυθῶνι θεοῦ χρήσασ' ἱέρεια  
ὁμφὴν σημήνη πίονος ἐξ ἀδύτου·  
οὔτε τι γὰρ προσθεῖς οὐδέν κ' ἔτι φάρμακον εὔροις,  
οὔτ' ἀφελὼν πρὸς θεῶν ἀμπλακίην προφύγοις. 810

Χρῆμ' ἔπαθον θανάτου μὲν ἀεικέος οὔτι κάκιον,  
τῶν δ' ἄλλων πάντων, Κύρν', ἀνιηρότατον·  
οἱ με φίλοι προὔδωκαν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐχθροῖσι πελασθεῖς  
εἰδήσω καὶ τῶν ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον.

Βοῦς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσση κρατερῷ ποδὶ λάξ ἐπιβαίνων 815  
ἴσχει κωτίλλειν καίπερ ἐπιστάμενον.

Κύρν', ἔμπης δ' ὅ τι μοῖρα παθεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὑπαλύξαι·  
ὅττι δὲ μοῖρα παθεῖν, οὔτι δέδοικα μαθεῖν.

Ἐς πολυάρητον κακὸν ἤκομεν, ἔνθα μάλιστα,  
Κύρνε, συναμφοτέρους μοῖρα λάβοι θανάτου. 820

800 ἀλλώσειλῶϊον μὴ πλ. μέλοι Α; ἀλλ' ὡς λῳιον, δ μὴ πλ. μέλοι Ο; ἀλλ' ὡς (or φ) λῳιον, οὐ μὴ πλ. μέλει the rest — 805 θεωρῶν MSS. — 806 χρημεν Α, χρή μὲν the rest — 807 ὧτινι Α. θεοῦ χρήσας ἱερεῖα Α, θεὸς χρήσας ἱερεῖα (-ειε one MS.) the rest — 810 οὐδ' ΑΟ — 811 μενοεικέος Α — 814 τὸν ΑΟ — 815 γλώσσης all but Α — 818 παθεῖν...παθεῖν MSS. — 819 πολλὸν ἀρρητον (or ἀρρηκτον) all but Α

Οἳ κ' ἀπογηράσκοντας ἀτιμάζωσι τοκῆας,  
τούτων τοι χώρη, Κύρν', ὀλίγη τελέθει.

Μήτε τιν' αὖξε τύραννον ἐπ' ἐλπίσι, κέρδεσιν εἴκων,  
μήτε κτεῖνε θεῶν ὄρκια συνθέμενος.

Πῶς ὑμῖν τέτληκεν ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος αἰεῖδεν 825  
θυμός; γῆς δ' οὖρος φαίνεται ἐξ ἀγορῆς,  
ἥτε τρέφει καρποῖσιν ἐν εἰλαπίναις φορέοντας  
ξανθῆσιν τε κόμαις πορφυρέους στεφάνους.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε δῆ, Κύθθα, κεῖρε κόμην, ἀπόπαυε δὲ κῶμον,  
πένθει δ' εὐώδη χῶρον ἀπολλύμενον. 830

Πίστει χρήματ' ὄλεσσα, ἀπιστίῃ δ' ἐσάωσα·  
γνώμη δ' ἀργαλή γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων.

Πάντα τὰδ' ἐν κοράκεσσι καὶ ἐν φθόρῳ· οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν  
αἷτιος ἀθανάτων, Κύρνε, θεῶν μακάρων,  
ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε βίη καὶ κέρδεα δειλὰ καὶ ὕβρις 835  
πολλῶν ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἐς κακότητ' ἔβαλεν.

Δισσαί τοι πόσιος κῆρες δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,  
δίψα τε λυσιμελῆς καὶ μέθυσις χαλεπή·  
τούτων δ' ἂν τὸ μέσον στρωφήσομαι, οὐδέ με πείσεις  
οὔτε τι μὴ πίνειν οὔτε λίην μεθύειν. 840

Οἶνος ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαρίζεται, ἐν δ' ἀχάριστος,  
εὖτ' ἂν θωρήξας μ' ἄνδρα πρὸς ἐχθρὸν ἄγῃ·

821 οἳ κ' A and (N. J. xxviii. 447) O, οἳ δ' the rest. ἀτιμάζουσι MSS.—  
823 ἑλπίδι Bekker. κέρδεσιν εἴκων A, κέρδεις εἶναι O, κέρδεος εἶναι the rest—  
825 ἡμῶν all but A—830 χώραν A—831 ὄλεσσα O—832 ἀργαλέῃ γίνεται A—  
833 φθορᾷ all but A—841 ἀχάριστῳ (=ον) A

ἀλλ' ὁπότεν καθύπερθεν ἐὼν ὑπένερθε γένηται,  
τοῦτάκεις οἴκαδ' ἵμεν παυσάμενοι πόσιος.

Εὖ μὲν κείμενον ἄνδρα κακῶς θέμεν εὐμαρές ἐστιν, 845  
εὖ δὲ θέμεν τὸ κακῶς κείμενον ἀργαλέον.

Λὰξ ἐπίβα δῆμῳ κενεόφρονι, τύπτε δὲ κέντρῳ  
ὄξει, καὶ ζεύγλην δύσλοφον ἀμφιτίθει·  
οὐ γὰρ ἔθ' εὐρήσεις δῆμον φιλοδέσποτον ὧδε  
ἀνθρώπων, ὁπόσους ἥελιος καθορᾷ. 850

Ζεὺς ἄνδρ' ἐξολέσειεν Ὀλύμπιος, ὃς τὸν ἐταῖρον  
μαλθακὰ κωτίλλων ἐξαπατᾷν ἐθέλει.

Ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ λῶια δὴ νῦν,  
τοῦνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ χάρις.

Πολλάκι δὴ πόλις ἦδε δι' ἡγεμόνων κακότητα 855  
ὥσπερ κεκλιμένη ναῦς παρὰ γῆν ἔδραμεν.

Τῶν δὲ φίλων εἰ μὲν τις ὀρᾷ μέ τι δειλὸν ἔχοντα,  
αὐχέν' ἀποστρέψας οὐδ' ἐσορᾷν ἐθέλει·  
ἦν δέ τί μοί ποθεν ἐσθλόν, ἃ παυράκι γίνεται ἀνδρί,  
πολλοὺς ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ φιλότητας ἔχω. 860

Οἷ με φίλοι προδιδοῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσί τι δοῦναι  
ἀνδρῶν φαινομένων· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτομάτῃ

845 ἀνδρὶ Hermann. καλῶς Α — 853 ἦδεα Α, ἡδέα the rest. λῶια δὴ νῦν Α,  
λῶια ἢ νῦν Ο, λῶια ἦδη the rest — 854 οὔνεκα (τ erased) Α, οὔνεκα Ο, τοῦνεκα the  
rest — 855 πολλάκις ἢ (σ erased in Α) MSS. — 857 δειλὸν all but Α — 859 πολλάκι  
all but Α and perhaps (Bekker) one other MS.

ἐσπερίῃ τ' ἔξειμι καὶ ὀρθρίῃ αὖθις ἔσειμι,  
ἦμος ἀλεκτρύνων φθόγγος ἐγειρομένων.

Πολλοῖς ἀχρήστοισι θεὸς διδοῖ ἀνδράσιν ὄλβον 865  
ἐσθλόν, ὃς οὐτ' αὐτῷ βέλτερος οὐδὲν ἔων  
οὔτε φίλοις. ἀρετῆς δὲ μέγα κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται·  
αἰχμητῆς γὰρ ἀνὴρ γῆν τε καὶ ἄστνυ σαοῖ.

Ἐν μοι ἔπειτα πέσοι μέγας οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεν 870  
χάλκεος, ἀνθρώπων δεῖμα χαμαιγενέων,  
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τοῖσιν μὲν ἐπαρκέσω οἷ με φιλεῦσι,  
τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγα πῆμ' ἔσομαι.

Οἶνε, τὰ μὲν σ' αἰνῶ, τὰ δὲ μέμφομαι· οὐδέ σε πάμπαν  
οὔτε ποτ' ἐχθαίρειν οὔτε φιλεῖν δύναμαι.  
ἐσθλὸν καὶ κακὸν ἔσσι. τίς ἂν σέ γε μωμήσαιο; 875  
τίς δ' ἂν ἐπαινῆσαι μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης;

Ἦβα μοι, φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι ἔσονται 880  
ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι.  
πῖν' οἶνον, τὸν ἐμοὶ κορυφῆς ἄπο Τηυγέτοιο  
ἄμπελοι ἤνεγκαν, τὰς ἐφύτευσ' ὁ γέρων  
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι θεοῖσι φίλος Θεότιμος,  
ἐκ Πλατανιστοῦντος ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐπάγων·  
τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις μελεδῶνας,  
θωρηχθεῖς δ' ἔσσαι πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος.

863 αὐτῆς O, αὐτῆς Z — 864 φέγγος O — 868 σάοι all but O — 870 παλαιγενέων all but A — 875 σέ τε AO — 876 -ήση (A), -ήσει (O) or -ήση MSS. — 877 ἦβανοι (or ἦβα μοι, *Mnemosyne* viii. 320) A, ἡβάοι O, ἡβάοις the rest. αὐ τινες (or ἂν τινες, *ibidem*) A, ἂν τινες the rest. ἔσονται all but AO — 879 κορυφῆς ὑπο Hecker — 882 πλατ- MSS. — 883 μελεδῶνας MSS. — 884 ἐλαφρότερος A

Εἰρήνη καὶ πλοῦτος ἔχοι πόλιν, ὅφρα μετ' ἄλλων 885  
κωμάζοιμι· κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔραμαι πολέμου.

μηδὲ λῆν κήρυκος ἀν' οὓς ἔχε μακρὰ βοῶντος·  
οὐ γὰρ πατρώας γῆς πέρι μαρνάμεθα.

Ἄλλ' αἰσχροὺς παρεόντα καὶ ὠκυπόδων ἐπιβάντα 890  
ἵππων μὴ πόλεμον δακρυόεντ' ἐσιδεῖν.

Οἱ μοι ἀναλκίης· ἀπὸ μὲν Κήρινθος ὄλωλεν,  
Ληλάντου δ' ἀγαθὸν κείρεται οἰνόπεδον·  
οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ φεύγουσι, κακοὶ δὲ πύλιν διέπουσιν.  
ὥς δὴ Κυψελιδῶν Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε γένος.

Γνώμης δ' οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀνὴρ ἔχει αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ, 895  
οὐδ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, Κύρν', ὀδυνηρότερον.

Κύρν', εἰ πάντ' ἄνδρεςσι καταθηνητοῖς χαλεπαίνειν  
γινώσκειν ὥς νοῦν οἶον ἕκαστος ἔχει  
αὐτὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι, καὶ ἔργματα τῶν τε δικαίων  
τῶν τ' ἀδίκων, μέγα κεν πῆμα βροτοῖσιν ἐπῆν. 900

Ἔστιν ὁ μὲν χείρων ὁ δ' ἀμείνων ἔργον ἕκαστον·  
οὐδεὶς δ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς ἅπαντα σοφός.

Ὅστις ἀνάλωσιν τηρεῖ κατὰ χρήματα θηρῶν,  
κυδίστην ἀρετὴν τοῖς συνιέουσιν ἔχει.  
εἰ μὲν γὰρ κατιδεῖν βίотου τέλος ἦν, ὅποσον τις 905  
ἦμελλ' ἐκτελέσας εἰς Ἀΐδαο περᾶν,

891 Κήρινθος all but A — 894 ὥς δὴ κυψελίδων A, ὥς κυψελίδων one MS. (N : see *N.J.* xxix. 254), ὥς κυψελίδων the rest — 895 αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ A, ἐν γε ἑαυτῷ the rest — 896 ἀνιηρότερον all but A — 897–8 are hopelessly corrupt; Κύρρε μὴ πάντ' and γινώσκων all but A — 899–900 τῷδε δικαίῳ τῷτ' ἀδίκῳ A, τῷδε δικαίῳ τῷδ' ἀδίκῳ O, τῷ δὲ (or τε) δικαίῳ τῷ τ' ἀδίκῳ (or τῷδ' ἀδίκῳ) the rest. κεμ A (cf. 499) — 901 ἐκάστου MSS. — 902 αἰσχροὺς A, αὐτοὺς the rest — 905 τι A

εἰκὸς ἂν ᾦν, ὃς μὲν πλείω χρόνον αἴσαν ἔμμνε,  
 φείδεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῦτον, ἵν' εἶχε βίον·  
 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγα πένθος ὄρωρεν,  
 καὶ δάκνομαι ψυχὴν, καὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔχω. 910  
 ἐν τριόδῳ δ' ἔστηκα· δύ' εἰσὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ὁδοί μοι·  
 φροντίζω τούτων ἥντιν' ἴω προτέρην·  
 ἢ μὴδὲν δαπανῶν τρύχω βίον ἐν κακότητι,  
 ἢ ζῶω τερπνῶς ἔργα τελῶν ὀλίγα.  
 εἶδον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγ', ὃς ἐφείδετο, κοῦποτε γαστρὶ 915  
 σῖτον ἐλευθέριον πλούσιος ὦν ἐδίδου,  
 ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐκτελέσαι κατέβη δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω,  
 χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων οὐπιτυχῶν ἔλαβεν·  
 ὥστ' ἐς ἄκαιρα πονεῖν καὶ μὴ δόμεν ᾧ κε θέλη τις.  
 εἶδον δ' ἄλλον, ὃς ἦ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενος 920  
 χρήματα μὲν διέτριψεν, ἔφη δ' Ὑπάγῳ φρένα τέρψας·  
 πτωχεύει δὲ φίλους πάντας, ὅπου τιν' ἴδῃ.  
 οὕτω, Δημόκλεις, κατὰ χρήματ' ἄριστον ἀπάντων  
 τὴν δαπάνην θέσθαι καὶ μελέτην ἐχέμεν.  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν προκαμῶν ἄλλῳ κάματον μεταδοίης, 925  
 οὔτ' ἂν πτωχεύων δουλοσύνην τελέοις·  
 οὐδ', εἰ γῆρας ἴκοιο, τὰ χρήματα πάντ' ἀποδραΐη.  
 ἐν δὲ τοιῷδε γένει χρήματ' ἄριστον ἔχειν·  
 ἦν μὲν γὰρ πλουτῆς, πολλοὶ φίλοι, ἦν δὲ πένηαι,  
 παῦροι, κούκέθ' ὁμῶς αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. 930

Φείδεσθαι μὲν ἄμεινον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ θανόντ' ἀποκλαίει  
 οὐδεὶς, ἦν μὴ ὁρᾷ χρήματα λειπόμενα.

908 τοῦτον in A, τοῦτον δὲ the rest — 911 εἰσι pr. O, εἰσι pr. all but AO —  
 919 ὡ κε θέλη A, ὥσπ' θέλει O, ὥς κ' ἐθέλοι the rest — 920 οὐ η A, οὐ ᾗ the rest —  
 929 εἰ...πλουτεῖς all but A and one other ms.



Παύροις ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ καὶ κάλλος ὅπηδεϊ·  
 ὀλβιος, ὃς τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἔλαχεν.  
 πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν· ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν 935  
 χώρης εἴκουσιν τοί τε παλαιότεροι·  
 γηράσκων ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν  
 βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει.

Οὐ δύναμαι φωνῇ λίγ' αἰδέμεν ὥσπερ ἀηδῶν·  
 καὶ γὰρ τὴν προτέρην νύκτ' ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔβην. 940  
 οὐδὲ τὸν αὐλητὴν προφασίζομαι· ἀλλὰ μ' ἐταῖρος  
 ἐκλείπει, σοφίης οὐκ ἐπιδενόμενος.

Ἐγγύθεν αὐλητῆρος αἰέσομαι ὧδε κατασταῶς  
 δεξιός, ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν ἐπευχόμενος.

Εἰμι παρὰ στάθμην ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, οὐδετέρωσε 945  
 κλινόμενος· χρὴ γάρ μ' ἄρτια πάντα νοεῖν.  
 πατρίδα κοσμήσω, λιπαρὴν πόλιν, οὔτ' ἐπὶ δήμῳ  
 τρέψας οὔτ' ἀδίκοις ἀνδράσι πειθόμενος.

Νεβρὸν ὑπὲξ ἐλάφοιο λέων ὥς ἀλκὶ πεποιθὼς  
 ποσσὶ καταμάρψας αἵματος οὐκ ἔπιον· 950  
 τειχέων δ' ὑψηλῶν ἐπιβὰς πόλιν οὐκ ἀλάπαξα·  
 ζευξάμενος δ' ἵππους ἄρματος οὐκ ἐπέβην·  
 πρήξας δ' οὐκ ἔπρηξα, καὶ οὐκ ἐτέλεσσα τελέσσας,  
 δρήσας δ' οὐκ ἔδρησ', ἥνυσα δ' οὐκ ἀνύσας.

934 αμφοτερον A — 935 νέοι A, ἴσοι O, ἴσοι the rest — 936 so A, χώροις εἴκουσιν  
 αὐτὸν O, εἴκουσι(ν) χώρης (-αις) αὐτὸν (τοῖς) the rest — 937-8 are omitted by Z — 939 λίγ'  
 ἀδέμεν A, λιγύρ' ἀδέμεν O, λιγύρ' ἀδέμεν the rest — 942 ουκετι δευόμενος (? Μνημοσύνη  
 viii. 322) A — 944 θεοῖς AO

Δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι δύω κακά· τῶν τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ 955  
χρηώσῃ πολλῶν, καὶ χάρις οὐδεμία.

Εἴ τι παθὼν ἀπ' ἐμεῦ ἀγαθὸν μέγα μὴ χάριν οἶδας,  
χρήζων ἡμετέρους αὐθις ἴκοιο δόμους.

Ἔστε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπινον ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου,  
ἡδύ τί μοι ἐδόκει καὶ καλὸν εἶμεν ὕδωρ· 960  
νῦν δ' ἤδη τεθόλωται, ὕδωρ δ' ἀναμίσγεται ὕλει·  
ἄλλης δὴ κρήνης πίομαι ἢ ποταμοῦ.

Μή ποτ' ἐπαινήσης πρὶν ἂν εἰδῇς ἄνδρα σαφηνῶς,  
ὀργὴν καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ τρόπον ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.  
πολλοὶ τοι κίβδηλον ἐπὶ κλοπὸν ἦθος ἔχοντες 965  
κρύπτουσ', ἐνθέμενοι θυμὸν ἐφημέριον·  
τούτων δ' ἐκφαίνει πάντων χρόνος ἦθος ἐκάστου.  
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης πολλὸν ἄρ' ἐκτὸς ἔβην·  
ἔφθην αἰνήσας πρὶν σου κατὰ πάντα δαῖναι  
ἦθεα· νῦν δ' ἤδη νηὺς ἄθ' ἐκὰς διέχω. 970

Τίς δ' ἀρετὴ πίνοντ' ἐπιόινιον ἄθλον ἐλέσθαι;  
πολλάκι τοι νικᾷ καὶ κακὸς ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

Οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων, ὃν πρῶτ' ἐπὶ γαῖα καλύψῃ,  
εἰς τ' Ἐρεβος καταβῇ, δώματα Περσεφόνης,

955 δειλοὺς δ' all but A — 956 χήρωσις κτεάνων Stobaeus — 960 ἡμεν A — 961 οἶδεi mss.; λυῖ and ολη have been proposed (see Bergk's note and Hiller-Crusius pp. xxxii and lxxvii) — 964 δυνιν' ἔχει Stobaeus — 967 ἐμφαίνει z and (? *Mnemosyne* viii. 322) A. πάντων all the mss. (see *N. J.* xxix. 254) — 968 ἐγὼν O — 969 ἐφθην δ' all but A — 970 ατεκας A — 973 δν πρωτ' ἐπι A, δν ποτ' ἐπὶ O, δν ἐπελ ποτε the rest; δν πόντν' ἐπὶ Bergk. καλύψει mss.

τέρπεται οὔτε λύρης οὔτ' αὐλητῆρος ἀκούων, 975  
 οὔτε Διωνύσου δῶρ' ἐσαιρόμενος.  
 ταυτ' ἐσορῶν κραδίην εὖ πείσομαι, ὅφρα τ' ἐλαφρὰ  
 γούνατα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἀτρεμέως προφέρω.

Μή μοι ἀνὴρ εἷη γλώσση φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργω·  
 χερσίν τε σπείδου χρήμασί τ', ἀμφότερα. 980  
 μηδὲ παρὰ κρητῆρι λόγοισιν ἐμὴν φρένα θέλγοις,  
 ἀλλ' ἔρδων φαίνοί, εἴ τι δύναί, ἀγαθόν.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν θαλίῃσι φίλον καταθώμεθα θυμόν,  
 ὅφρ' ἔτι τερπωλῆς ἔργ' ἐρατεινὰ φέρη.  
 αἶψα γὰρ ὥστε νόημα παρέρχεται ἀγλαὸς ἥβη· 985  
 οὐδ' ἵππων ὁρμὴ γίγνεται ὠκυτέρη,  
 αἶτε ἄνακτα φέρουσι δορυσσόον ἐς πόνον ἀνδρῶν  
 λάβρως πυροφόρῳ τερπόμεναι πεδίῳ.

Πῖν' ὁπότεν πίνωσιν· ὅταν δέ τι θυμόν ἀσηθῆς,  
 μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων γνῶ σε βαρυνόμενον. 990

Ἄλλοτέ τοι πάσχων ἀνιήσεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἔρδων  
 χαιρήσεις· δύναται δ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἀνὴρ.

Εἰ θεῖης, Ἀκάδημε, ἐφήμερον ὕμνον αἰεῖδεις,  
 ἄθλον δ' ἐν μέσσω παῖς καλὸν ἄνθος ἔχων

976 -ομενος (or -αμενος) A, -άμενος the rest; δῶρον ἀειρόμενος Bergk — 977 κραδίην A, κραδίη O, κραδίη the rest; κραδίη Herwerden — 980 -ον A, -ει O, -οι the rest — 981 κλητῆρι A, κρατῆρι O, κρητῆρι the rest. θέλγοις A, τέρποι (-ου) the rest — 982 φαίνοιτ' ...δύναιτ' (τ erased in both words in A) mss. — 983 -εσσι A, -αῖσι O — 985-6 are omitted by A — 987 so A, αἶτ' ἀναφ. O, αἶτε περ (or γὰρ) ἀνδρα φ. the rest — 989 ὅταν δ' ἔτι A, ὅταν τοι Oz — 992 χαιρήσι δυναται· ἄλλο τε δαλλος A, χαιρήσειν δῶναι (or δύνασαι) ἄλλοτέ τ' ἄλλος the rest — 993 ἐφήμερον all but AO. εἴ τ' εἴησα καλὴν μὲν ἐφήμερον Athenaeus

σοί τ' εἴη καὶ ἐμοὶ σοφίης πέρι δηρισάντων, 995  
 γνοίης χ' ὅσπον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι.  
 τῆμος δ' ἥελιος μὲν ἐν αἰθέρι μώνυχας ἵππους  
 ἄρτι παραγγέλλοι μέσσατον ἡμαρ ἔχων,  
 δείπνου δὴ λήγοιμεν, ὅπου τινὰ θυμὸς ἀνώγοι,  
 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι. 1000  
 χέρνιβα δ' αἶψα θύραζε φέροι στεφανώματα δ' εἴσω  
 εὐειδῆς ῥαδιναῖς χερσὶ Λάκαινα κόρη.

Ἥδ' ἀρετῇ, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον  
 κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ,  
 ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόληί τε παντὶ τε δήμῳ, 1005  
 ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένει.  
 ξυνὸν δ' ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήσομαι, ὄφρα τις ἥβης  
 ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχων καὶ φρεσὶν ἐσθλὰ νοῇ,  
 τῶν αὐτοῦ κτεάνων εὖ πασχέμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνηβᾶν  
 δις πέλεται πρὸς θεῶν οὐδὲ λύσις θανάτου 1010  
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι· κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἐλέγχει  
 οὐλόμενον, κεφαλῆς δ' ἄπτεται ἀκροτάτης.

Ἄ μάκαρ εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἄπειρος  
 ἄθλων εἰς Αἶδου δῶμα μέλαν κατέβη,  
 πρίν τ' ἐχθροὺς πτῆξαι καὶ ὑπερβῆναί περ ἀνάγκη, 1015  
 ἔξετάσαι τε φίλους, ὄντιν' ἔχουσι νόον.

995 δηρισάντων A, δηρησάντων O, -ων Z, δηριώσι Athenaeus — 996 τ' A, θ' O —  
 997 τῆμος AO with Athenaeus, ἦμος the rest — 998 παραγγέλλοι AOz — 999 δὴ  
 Athenaeus, δὲ AO, τε (or τοι) the rest. λήγοι μένος οὐ (or δν) Athenaeus. ἀνώγοι A  
 with Athenaeus, -ει the rest — 1001 δ' εἴσω A with Athenaeus, θῆσοι the rest —  
 1002 ῥαδινῆς Athenaeus — 1006 -ν ἐνι all but A — 1013 α A, ὡς the rest —  
 1014 καταβῆ O — 1016 δε or τε A

Αὐτίκα μοι κατὰ μὲν χροίην ῥέει ἄσπετος ἰδρώς,  
 πτωῶμαι δ' ἐσορῶν ἄνθος ὀμηλικίης  
 τερπνὸν ὁμῶς καὶ καλόν, ἐπεὶ πλέον ὥφελεν εἶναι·  
 ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον γίνεται ὥσπερ ὄναρ  
 ἦβη τιμήεσσα, τὸ δ' οὐλόμενον καὶ ἄμορφον  
 αὐτίχ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς γῆρας ὑπερκρέμαται.

1020

Οὐποτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα θήσω  
 δύσλοφον, οὐδ' εἴ μοι Τμῶλος ἔπεστι κάρη.

Δειλοί τοι κακότητι ματαιότεροι νόον εἰσί,  
 τῶν δ' ἀγαθῶν αἰεὶ πρήξεις ἰθύτεραι.

1025

Ῥηιδίη τοι πρήξεις ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακότητος,  
 τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ χαλεπή, Κύρνε, πέλει παλάμη.

Τόλμα, θυμέ, κακοῖσιν ὅμως ἄτλητα πεπονθώς·  
 δειλῶν τοι κραδίη γίνεται ὀξυτέρη.

1030

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἀπρήκτοισιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ἄλγος ἀέξων  
 ὄχθει, μηδ' ἄχθην, μηδὲ φίλους ἀνία,  
 μηδ' ἐχθροὺς εὐφραίνε. θεῶν δ' εἰμαρμένα δῶρα  
 οὐκ ἂν ῥηιδίως θνητὸς ἀνὴρ προφύγοι,  
 οὔτ' ἂν πορφυρέης καταδὺς ἐς πυθμένα λίμνης,  
 οὔθ' ὅταν αὐτὸν ἔχη Τάρταρος ἱερόεις.

1035

Ἄνδρα τοί ἐστ' ἀγαθὸν χαλεπώτατον ἐξαπατήσai,  
 ὥς ἐν ἐμοὶ γνώμη, Κύρνε, πάλαι κέκριται·

1038

1018 πτωῶμαι all but A — 1019 ὥφελεν AO — 1020 -ος O — 1025 δειλοῖς all but A; νόον A, νόαι O, γόαι the rest — 1031 τ' AO — 1032 εχθει μηδ' εχθει A, εχθει μηδ' εχθει O, εχθει μηδ' εχθου the rest — 1033 ευφρηνε A, εχθρηνε O. θέλων A — 1038 ἐμῇ γνώμῃ all but A

ἤδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ λώιον ἤδη· α  
οὐνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ χάρις. δ

Ἄφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι, οἵτινες οἶνον 1039  
μὴ πίνουσ' ἄστρου καὶ κυνὸς ἀρχομένου. 1040

Δεῦρο σὺν αὐλητῇρι· παρὰ κλαίοντι γελῶντες  
πίνωμεν, κείνου κήδεσι τερπόμενοι.

Εὐδωμεν· φυλακὴ δὲ πόλεως φυλάκεσσι μελήσει  
ἀστυφέλῃς ἐρατῆς πατρίδος ἡμετέρης.

Ναὶ μὰ Δί, εἴ τις τῶνδε καὶ ἐγκεκαλυμμένος εὔδει, 1045  
ἡμέτερον κῶμον δέξεται ἀρπαλέως.

Νῦν μὲν πίνοντες τερπόμεθα, καλὰ λέγοντες·  
ἄσσα δ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται, ταῦτα θεοῖσι μέλει.

Coὶ δ' ἐγὼ οἶά τε παιδὶ πατὴρ ὑποθήσομαι αὐτὸς  
ἐσθλά· σὺ δ' ἐν θυμῷ καὶ φρεσὶ ταῦτα βάλευ. 1050  
μή ποτ' ἐπειγόμενος πράξῃς κακόν, ἀλλὰ βαθεῖη  
σῇ φρενὶ βούλευσαι σῶ ἀγαθῷ τε νόῳ·  
τῶν γὰρ μαινομένων πέτεται θυμός τε νόος τε,  
βουλὴ δ' εἰς ἀγαθὸν καὶ νόον ἐσθλὸν ἄγει.

Ἄλλὰ λόγον μὲν τοῦτον ἐάσομεν, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ 1055  
αὐλῇ, καὶ Μουσῶν μνησόμεθ' ἀμφότεροι·

1038 α δ are in all the mss. ἤδε αμεν A, ἡδέα μὲν the rest. οὐνεκα O — 1044 αστυ-  
φελῃς A, ἀστυφελῆς O, ᾧ αστυφελῆς z, εὐ αστυφελῆς z; ἀστυφιλῆς and εὐσταφύλης  
have been proposed — 1045 τον δε A, τόνδε O — 1049 σοι δε τῶι ᾄτε A, σὺ δὲ οἶά  
τε O, σοὶ δὲ (or σοὶ δέ κεν) οἶά τε the rest. παιδὶ πατὴρ ὕ. A, παιδὶ ὕ. O, παιδὶ φίλῳ  
ὕ. the rest — 1050 βάλε (or βάλλε) all but A — 1051 βαθείησ A — 1052 σωτ A —  
1053 μαρναμένων μάχεται all but A — 1054 νόος Bergk

αὐται γὰρ τὰδ' ἔδωκαν ἔχειν κεχαρισμένα δῶρα  
σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, μελέμεν δ' ἀμφιπερικτίουσιν.

Τιμαγόρα, πολλῶν ὀργὴν ἀπάτερθεν ὀρῶντι  
γινώσκειν χαλεπὸν, καίπερ ἑόντι σοφῷ. 1060  
οἱ μὲν γὰρ κακότητα κατακρύψαντες ἔχουσι  
πλούτῳ, τοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν οὐλομένην πενίῃ.

Ἐν δ' ἦβη πάρα μὲν ξὺν ὀμήλικι πάννουχον εὐδὲν  
ἱμερτῶν ἔργων ἐξ ἔρον ἰέμενον,  
ἔστι δὲ κωμάζοντα μετ' αὐλητῆρος αἰδεῖν. 1065  
τούτων οὐδὲν . . . . . ἄλλ' ἐπιτερπνότερον  
ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξί. τί μοι πλούτός τε καὶ αἰδώς;  
τερπωλὴ νικᾷ πάντα σὺν εὐφροσύνῃ.

Ἄφρονες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νήπιοι, οἵτε θανόντας  
κλαίουσ', οὐδ' ἦβης ἄνθος ἀπολλύμενον. 1070  
τέρπεό μοι, φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι ἔσονται α  
ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι. β

Κύρνε, φίλους πρὸς πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον ἦθος, 1071  
συμμίσγων ὀργὴν οἷος ἕκαστος ἔφν·  
νῦν μὲν τῷδ' ἐφέπου, τότε δ' ἀλλοῖος πέλευ ὀργήν.  
κρεῖσσόν τοι σοφίῃ καὶ μεγάλῃς ἀρετῆς.

Πρήγματος ἀπρήκτου χαλεπώτατόν ἐστι τελευτὴν 1075  
γινῶναι, ὅπως μέλλει τοῦτο θεὸς τελέσαι·

1058 ἐμοὶ μενδ' ἀμφ. Α, ἐμοὶ νῦν ἀμφ. Ο, ἐμοὶ μὴν (or μὴν καὶ) ἀμφ. the rest —  
1059 τιμαγαρ ἀπόλλων Α, τιμᾶ γὰρ ἀπόλλων the rest — 1063 παρα Α, παρὰ the rest.  
ξυνομήλικι all but ΑΟ. πάννουχον Α, κάλλιστον Ο, κάλλιον the rest — 1066 οὐδὲν  
ἀλλ' Α, οὐδέν τι ἀλλ' Οz, οὐδέν τοι ἀλλ' the rest; ἀρ' ἦν and ἐνεστ' have been pro-  
posed — 1070 α β are in all the MSS. ἀντιπες Ο — 1074 κρεῖσσω Ο

ὄρφη γὰρ τέταται, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι  
οὐ ξυνετὰ θνητοῖς πείρατ' ἀμηχανίης.

Οὐδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μωμήσομαι ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα,  
οὐδὲ μὲν αἰνήσω δειλὸν ἐόντα φίλον. 1080

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἥδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκη ἄνδρα  
ὑβριστήν, χαλεπῆς ἡγεμόνα στάσιος· 1082  
ἄστοι μὲν γὰρ ἔασι σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ α  
τετράφεται πολλὴν ἐς κακότητα πεσεῖν. β

Μή μ' ἔπεσιν μὲν στέργε, νόον δ' ἔχε καὶ φρένας ἄλλας, ε  
εἴ με φιλεῖς καὶ σοι πιστὸς ἔνεστι νόος· δ  
ἀλλὰ φίλει καθαρὸν θέμενος νόον, ἢ μ' ἀποειπὼν ε  
ἔχθαιρ', ἐμφανέως νεῖκος ἀειράμενος. f  
οὕτω χρή τόν γ' ἐσθλὸν ἐπιστρέψαιτα νόημα 1083  
ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχειν ἐς τέλος ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ.

Δημῶναξ, σοὶ πολλὰ φέρειν βαρύν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστη 1085  
τουῦθ' ἔρδειν, ὃ τί σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ᾗ.

Κάστορ καὶ Πολύδευκες, οἳ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δῖη  
ναίετ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτα καλλιρόφῳ ποταμῷ,  
εἴ ποτε βουλευσάμε φίλῳ κακόν, αὐτὸς ἔχοιμι,  
εἰ δέ τι κείνος ἐμοί, δις τόσον αὐτὸς ἔχοι. 1090

1081 τέκος ΑΟz—1081-2 are omitted by two mss., 1082 α δ by the same two and a third. 1082 α ἔασι or εἴθ' οἶδε (N. J. xxvii. 452, note on 41) Α—1082 c-f are in ΑΟ and seven other mss. 1082 ε εἴ μ' Α. In all but Α the readings seem to be the same here as in 87-90, to wit ἄλλῃ, ἢ με φίλει, ἀμφαδίην. Bekker is wrong in saying that ΑΟ 'repeat' 93-4 after 1082f (Hermes xv. 525)—1085 δημῶν αξιοί δε π. Α, δημῶν δ' αξιοί π. the rest. βαρὺς (or βαρὺν) all but Α



Ἀργαλέως μοι θυμὸς ἔχει περὶ σῆς φιλότητος·  
οὔτε γὰρ ἐχθαίρειν οὔτε φιλεῖν δύναμαι,  
γινώσκων χαλεπὸν μὲν, ὅταν φίλος ἀνδρὶ γένηται,  
ἐχθαίρειν, χαλεπὸν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φιλεῖν.

Κέεπτεο δὴ νῦν ἄλλον· ἐμοί γε μὲν οὔτις ἀνάγκη 1095  
τοῦθ' ἔρδειν· τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσο.

Ἦδη καὶ πτερύγεσιν ἐπαίρομαι ὥστε πετεινὸν  
ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, ἄνδρα κακὸν προφύγῳν,  
βρόχον ἀπορρήξας· σὺ δ' ἐμῆς φιλότητος ἀμαρτῶν  
ὑστερον ἡμετέρην γνῶσιν ἐπιφροσύνην. 1100

Ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ πέρι, καὶ σ' ἐκέλευσεν  
οἶχεσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέρην φιλίην—  
ὑβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα  
καὶ Cμύρνην· πάντως, Κύρνε, καὶ ὑμῖ' ἀπολεῖ. 1104

Δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα, πείρα δ' ἄριστον· α  
πολλοὶ ἀπείρητοι δόξαν ἔχουσ' ἀγαθοί. β  
εἰς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τε μολίβδῳ 1105  
χρυσὸς ἄπεφθος ἐὼν καλὸς ἅπασιν ἔσθ.

Οἴμοι ἐγὼ δειλός· καὶ δὴ κατάχαρμα μὲν ἐχθροῖς  
τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πόνος δειλὰ παθὼν γενόμην.

Κύρν', οἱ πρόσθ' ἀγαθοὶ νῦν αὖ κακοί, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ πρὶν  
νῦν ἀγαθοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἐσορῶν, 1110  
τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς μὲν ἀτιμοτέρους, κακίους δὲ λαχόντας  
τιμῆς; μνηστεύει δ' ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἀνήρ·

1093 γινώσκω· Α — 1099 βρόχον z, βρόκχον Scaliger — 1104 ὑμῖ' ἀπολεῖ Α,  
θμῶας (or ὑμῶας) ὁλεῖ the rest — 1104 α β are in ΑΟ and eight other mss. ἀγαθῶν  
all but Α — 1107 ὡμοι ΟΖ — 1108 φίλοις ὁ πόνος Α

ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶσιν,  
οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν μνήμην εἰδότες οὔτε κακῶν. 1114

Πολλὰ δ' ἀμηχανίῃσι κυλίνδομαι ἀχνύμενος κῆρ· α  
ἀρχὴν γὰρ πενίης οὐχ ὑπερεδράμομεν. δ

Χρήματ' ἔχων πενίην μοι ὀνείδισας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μοι 1115  
ἔστι, τὰ δ' ἐργάσομαι θεοῖσιν ἐπευξάμενος.

Πλοῦτε, θεῶν κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων,  
σὺν σοὶ καὶ κακὸς ὧν γίνεται ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.

Ἦβης μέτρον ἔχοιμι, φιλοὶ δέ με Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
Λητοίδης καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς, 1120  
ὄφρα δίκη ζῶοιμι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων,  
ἦβη καὶ πλούτῳ θυμὸν ἱαινόμενος.

Μή με κακῶν μίμνησκε· πέπονθά τοι οἶά τ' Ὀδυσσεύς,  
ὅστ' Ἀΐδew μέγα δῶμ' ἤλυθεν ἐξαναδύς,  
ὅς δὴ καὶ μνηστῆρας ἀνείλετο νηλεί θυμῷ 1125  
Πηνελόπης εὖφρων κουριδῆς ἀλόχου,  
ἥ μιν δῆθ' ὑπέμεινε φίλῳ παρὰ παιδί μένουσα,  
ὄφρα τε γῆς ἐπέβη δειμαλέους τε μυχοῦς.

Ἐμπόμαι, πενίης θυμοφθόρου οὐ μελεδαίνων,  
οὔδ' ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἳ με λέγουσι κακῶς· 1130  
ἀλλ' ἦβην ἐρατὴν ὀλοφύρομαι, ἥ μ' ἐπιλείπει,  
κλαίω δ' ἀργαλέον γῆρας ἐπερχόμενον.

1114 α δ are in AO and three other MSS. — 1115 μ' ὀνείδισας MSS. τεμεμοι A (cf. 499), τὰ μέντοι O — 1121 δικη A, βλον the rest — 1123 μέμνησθε all but A — 1125 ανεδατο A. χαλκῷ all but A — 1126 ἐμφρων all but A — 1127 ἡ (or ἦ) μὲν all but A. δῆθ' OZ. πρὸς all but A — 1128 is hopelessly corrupt. δειμαλέους A. γε OZ. — 1129 ἐλπίομαι O, εἰ πίομαι all but AO. μελεδαίνω all but A and one other MS.

Κύρνε, παρούσι φίλοισι κακοῦ καταπαύσομεν ἀρχήν,  
ζητῶμεν δ' ἔλκει φάρμακα φυομένῳ.

Ἐλπίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνη θεὸς ἐσθλὴ ἔνεστιν, 1135  
ἄλλοι δ' Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἐκπρολιπόντες ἔβαν·  
ᾧχετο μὲν Πίστις, μεγάλη θεός, ᾧχετο δ' ἀνδρῶν  
    Ὡφροσύνη· Χάριτές τ', ὦ φίλε, γῆν ἔλιπον.  
ὅρκοι δ' οὐκέτι πιστοὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιοι,  
    οὐδὲ θεοὺς οὐδεὶς ἄζεται ἀθανάτους· 1140  
εὐσεβέων δ' ἀνδρῶν γένος ἐφθίται, οὐδὲ θέμιστας  
    οὐκέτι γινώσκουσ' οὐδὲ μὲν εὐσεβίας.  
ἀλλ' ὅφρα τις ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ἡέλιοιο,  
    εὐσεβέων περὶ θεοὺς Ἐλπίδα προσμενέτω·  
εὐχέσθω δὲ θεοῖσι, καὶ ἀγλαὰ μηρία καίων 1145  
    Ἐλπίδι τε πρώτῃ καὶ πυμάτῃ θυέτω.  
φραξέσθω δ' ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν σκολιὸν λόγον αἰεῖ,  
    οἱ θεῶν ἀθανάτων οὐδὲν ὀπιζόμενοι  
αἰὲν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κτεάνοις ἐπέχουσι νόημα,  
    αἰσχροὶ κακοῖς ἔργοις σύμβολα θηκάμενοι. 1150

Μή ποτε τὸν παρεόντα μεθεῖς φίλον ἄλλον ἐρεῦνα  
    δειλῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος.

Εἴη μοι πλουτοῦντι κακῶν ἀπάτερθε μεριμνέων  
    ζῶειν ἀβλαβέως, μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν.

Οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν οὐδ' εὐχομαι, ἀλλὰ μοι εἴη 1155  
    ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων, μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν.

1136 Οὐλυμπον MSS. — 1141 ἐφθιτο MSS. — 1142 εὐνομίας Herwerden —  
1143 ζῶει A, ζῶει O, ζῶη or ζῶη the rest. φῶς A — 1148 μηδὲν all but A —  
1150 ἐσθλὰ Emperius; perhaps καλοῖς

Πλούτος καὶ σοφίη θνητοῖς ἀμαχώτατον αἰεί·  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἂν πλούτου θυμὸν ὑπερκορέσαιοι,  
 ὥς δ' αὐτῶς σοφίην ὁ σοφώτατος οὐκ ἀποφεύγει,  
 ἀλλ' ἔραται, θυμὸν δ' οὐ δύνатаι τελέσαι. 1160

ὦ νέοι, οἱ νῦν ἄνδρες . . . ἐμοί γε μὲν οὔτις ἀνάγκη α  
 ταῦθ' ἔρδειν· τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσο. b

Οὐδένα θησαυρὸν καταθήσειν παισὶν ἄμεινον· 1161  
 αἰτοῦσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, δίδου. 1162  
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐσθλὸς a  
 τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακόν, κοῦκ ἐπίδηλον ὁμῶς· b  
 δειλὸς δ' οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπίσταται οὔτε κακοῖσι c  
 θυμὸν ὁμῶς μίσγειν. ἀθανάτων τε δόσεις d  
 παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ'· ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾷν e  
 χρὴ δῶρ' ἀθανάτων, οἷα διδοῦσιν, ἔχειν. f

Ὅφθαλμοὶ καὶ γλῶσσα καὶ οὔατα καὶ νόος ἀνδρῶν 1163  
 ἐν μέσσω στηθέων ἐν συνετοῖς φύεται. 1164

Τοιούτός τοι ἀνὴρ ἔστω φίλος, ὃς τὸν ἐταῖρον a  
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρει b  
 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου. σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, τοῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ c  
 φράζεο, καὶ ποτέ μου μνήσεται ἐξοπίσω. d

1157-8 are in no MS.: they were inserted here by Turnebus from Stobaeus, who quotes 1157-60 as Θεόγνιδος — 1160 a b are in AO and nine other MSS., with no gap after *ἄνδρες*. τοῦθ' all but A and (N.J. xxviii. 447) O — 1161 παισὶν καταθήσειν A — 1162 a-f are in AO and apparently all the other MSS. 1162 b δμοι O. 1162 e ἐπέρχεται O — 1164 εἰζύνετος Stobaeus — 1164 a-d are in AO and seven other MSS. 1164 a O omits τοι. 1164 c τοῦτ' AO according to Bekker, ταῦτ' according to Ziegler (compare N.J. xxvii. 452, note on 99)

Οὕτιν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὐρεῖν ε  
 πιστὸν ἐταῖρον, ὅτῳ μὴ τις ἔνεστι δόλος· ς  
 ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τε μολὶβδῳ ε  
 χρυσός, ὑπερτερὴς ἄμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος. η

Τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς σύμμισγε, κακοῖσι δὲ μὴ ποθ' ὁμάρτει, 1165  
 εὖτ' ἂν ὁδοῦ στέλλη τέρματ' ἐπ' ἐμπορίην.

Τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὴ μὲν ἀπόκρισις ἐσθλὰ δὲ ἔργα·  
 τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἄνεμοι δειλὰ φέρουσιν ἔπη.

Ἐκ καχεταίρης κακὰ γίνεται. εὖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς  
 γνώσῃ, ἐπεὶ μεγάλους ἤλιτες ἀθανάτους. 1170

Γνώμην, Κύρνε, θεοὶ θνητοῖσι διδοῦσιν ἄριστον·  
 ἄνθρωπος γνώμῃ πείρατα παντὸς ἔχει.  
 ὦ μάκαρ, ὅστις δὴ μιν ἔχει φρεσίν· ἡ πολὺ κρείσσω  
 ὕβριος οὐλομένης λευγαλέου τε κόρου·  
 ἔστι κακὸν δὲ βροτοῖσι κόρος τῶν οὔτι κάκιον· 1175  
 πᾶσα γὰρ ἐκ τούτων, Κύρνε, πέλει κακότης.

Εἰ κ' εἴης ἔργων αἰσchrῶν ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀεργός,  
 Κύρνε, μεγίστην κεν πεῖραν ἔχοις ἀρετῆς. 1178

Τολμᾶν χρὴ χαλεποῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσιν ἦτορ ἔχοντα, α  
 πρὸς δὲ θεῶν αἰτεῖν ἔκλυσιν ἀθανάτων. δ

Κύρνε, θεοὺς αἰδοῦ καὶ δείδιθι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄνδρα 1179  
 εἵργει μὴθ' ἔρδειν μῆτε λέγειν ἀσεβῆ. 1180

1164 ε-η are in AO only. 1164 γ τ' A. 1164 η νός O — 1166 ὁδοστελεῖ A, ὁδοῦ τελείος O, ὁδοῦ τελέη the rest. τέρματ' ἐμπορίης all but A — 1169 καχεταίρης A, καχεταίρειης the rest — 1172 ἀνθρώπου all but AO. γνώμη MSS. — 1173 ὦ all but O. δ' ἡμῖν A, δ' ἡμῖν Oz — 1175 βροτοῖς ἕτερον τῶνδ' Sitzler, alii alia — 1178 α δ are in AO only. ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν ἦπαρ O. πρὸς τε θεῶν δ' O

δημοφάγον δὲ τύραννον, ὅπως ἐθέλεις, κατακλίνει  
οὐ νέμεσις πρὸς θεῶν γίνεται οὐδεμία.

Οὐδένα, Κύρν', αὐγαὶ φαεσιμβρότου ἡελίοιο  
ἄνδρ' ἐφορῶσ', ᾧ μὴ μῶμος ἐπικρέμαται. 1184  
ἀστῶν δ' οὐ δύναμαι γινῶναι νόον, ὃν τιν' ἔχουσιν· α  
οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς. β

Νοῦς ἀγαθὸν καὶ γλῶσσα· τὰ δ' ἐν παύροισι πέφυκεν 1185  
ἀνδράσιν, οἱ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ταμίαι.

Οὔτις ἄποινα διδούς θάνατον φύγοι, οὐδὲ βαρεῖαν  
δυστυχήν, εἰ μὴ μοῖρ' ἐπὶ τέρμα βάλοι·  
οὐδ' ἂν δυσφροσύνας, ὅτε δὴ θεὸς ἄλγεα πέμπει,  
θνητὸς ἀνὴρ δῶροις βουλόμενος προσφύγοι. 1190

Οὐκ ἔραμαι κλισμῷ βασιλῆϊ ἐγκατακεῖσθαι  
τεθνεώς, ἀλλὰ τί μοι ζῶντι γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν.  
ἀσπάλαθοι δὲ τάπησιν ὁμοῖον στρώμα θανόντι·  
τὸ ξύλον ἢ σκληρὸν γίνεται ἢ μαλακόν.

Μήτι θεοὺς ἐπίορκος ἐπόμενυθι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνεκτὸν 1195  
ἀθανάτους κρίνῃαι χρεῖος ὀφειλόμενον.

“Ορνιθος φωνήν, Πολυπαῖδην, ὃξὺ βοώσης  
ἦκουσ', ἥτε βροτοῖς ἄγγελος ἦλθ' ἀρότου

1183-6 are given in a wrong order by Bekker and other editors: see Bergk's note and *Hermes* xv. 525 — 1184 α β are in AO only — 1185 ἀγαθὸς all but A. ταῦτ' O and one other ms., τὰ τ' the rest — 1189 πεμπῇ or πεμπῇ. (*N. J.* xxvii. 454) A; πέμπει Bergk — 1190 βουλόμενος (β erased) A, βούλομαι O. προσφύγη A, -εῖν the rest — 1193 OZ omit δὲ — 1195 μήτε all but A. ἐπίορκος A, ἐπ' ὄρκον O, ἐπίορκον the rest. ἀνυστὸν Emperius — 1198 ἀρότρου all but A

ῥαίον· καί μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε μέλαιναν,  
 ὅττι μοι εὐανθεῖς ἄλλοι ἔχουσιν ἀγρούς,  
 οὐδέ μοι ἡμίονοι κυφὸν ἔλκουσιν ἄροτρον,  
 τῆς ἀμῆς μνηστῆς εἵνεκα ναυτιλίας.

1200

Οὐκ εἴμ', οὐδ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κεκλήσεται οὐδ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ  
 οἰμωχθεῖς ὑπὸ γῆν εἰσι τύραννος ἀνὴρ.  
 οὐδ' ἂν ἐκείνος ἐμοῦ τεθνηότος οὗτ' ἀνιῶτο  
 οὔτε κατὰ βλεφάρων θερμὰ βάλοι δάκρυα.

1205

Οὔτε σε κωμάζειν ἀπερύκομεν οὔτε καλοῦμεν·  
 ἀργαλέος παρεών, καὶ φίλος εὖτ' ἂν ἀπῆς.

Αἶθων μὲν γένος εἰμί, πόλιν δ' εὐτείχεα Θήβην  
 οἰκῶ, πατρώας γῆς ἀπερυκόμενος.

1210

Μή μ' ἀφελῶς παίζουσα φίλους δένναζε τοκῆας,  
 Ἄργυρι. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἔπι·  
 ἡμῖν δ' ἄλλα μὲν ἐστί, γύναι, κακὰ πόλλ', ἐπεὶ ἐκ γῆς  
 φεύγομεν, ἀργαλέη δ' οὐκ ἔπι δουλοσύνη,  
 οὐδ' ἡμᾶς περνᾶσι· πόλις γε μὲν ἐστί καὶ ἡμῖν  
 καλή, Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ.

1215

Μή ποτε παρ κλαίοντα καθεζόμενοι γελάσωμεν,  
 τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀγαθοῖς, Κύρν', ἐπιτερπόμενοι.

1201 ἥρσιον Α. κῶφον'...ἀρότρον all but ΑΟ — 1202 ὦλλης MSS. — 1203 κεκλή-  
 σεται ΟΖ — 1204 ἐπὶ all but Α — 1205 τεθνηότος ΑΟ — 1206 δ. θ. βάλοι Passow  
 — 1207 ἀπερύκομαι...καλοῦμαι all but Α — 1208 ἀργαλέος Bergk. γὰρ ἔων MSS. —  
 1209 εὐτυχία Θύβην Ο — 1211 διέναιζε Ο — 1212 σὺ ΑΟ — 1215 οὐθ' MSS. δε all  
 but Α — 1216 λιθαίῳ Ο — 1217 κλαίοντα Α, -οντι Ο, -ουσι the rest

Ἐχθρὸν μὲν χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσμενῇ ἑξαπατῆσαι,  
 Κύρνε· φίλον δὲ φίλῳ ῥάδιον ἑξαπατᾶν. 1220

Πολλὰ φέρειν εἴωθε λόγος θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι  
 πταίσματα, τῆς γνώμης, Κύρνε, ταρασσομένης.

Οὐδέν, Κύρν', ὀργῆς ἀδικώτερον, ἢ τὸν ἔχοντα  
 πημαίνει, θυμῷ δειλὰ χαριζομένη.

Οὐδέν, Κύρν', ἀγαθῆς γλυκερώτερόν ἐστι γυναικός· 1225  
 μάρτυς ἐγώ, σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ γίγνου ἀληθοσύνης. 1226

...ἤδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἵκαδε νεκρός, 1229  
 τεθνηκὼς ζῶν φθειγγόμενος στόματι. 1230

At 1220 all the MSS. but A come to an end. 1221-30 are in no MS.: they are quoted from Theognis by Stobaeus (1221-6) and Athenaeus (1229-30). In 1226 the MSS. of Stobaeus have *δέ μοι* or *δέ μου*. After 1226 most editors insert (1227-8) the words *Ἀληθείη δὲ παρέστω σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, πάντων χρῆμα δικαιοτάτων* from Stobaeus: but Stobaeus gives as lemma *Μενάνδρου Ναννοῦς*, a mistake (as Passow saw) for *Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦς*.



## ΕΛΕΓΕΙΩΝ B

Cχέτλι Ἑρως, Μανίαι σ' ἐτιθηγήσαντο λαβούσαι·  
 ἐκ σέθεν ὤλετο μὲν Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολις,  
 ὤλετο δ' Αἰγείδης Θησεὺς μέγας, ὤλετο δ' Αἶας  
 ἐσθλὸς Ὀιλιάδης σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίαις.

ὦ παῖ, ἀκουσον ἐμεῦ, δαμάσας φρένας· οὐ τοι ἀπειθῇ 1235  
 μῦθον ἐρῶ τῇ σῇ καρδίῃ οὐδ' ἄχαριν·  
 ἀλλὰ τλήθι νόῳ συνιδεῖν ἔπος· οὐ τοι ἀνάγκη  
 τοῦθ' ἔρδειν, ὃ τί σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ᾔ. 1238

Μὴ ποτε τὸν παρεόντα μεθεῖς φίλον ἄλλον ἐρεῦνα a  
 δειλῶν ἀνθρώπων ρήμασι πειθόμενος· b  
 πολλὰκι τοι παρ' ἐμοὶ κατὰ σοῦ λέξουσι μάταια, 1239  
 καὶ παρὰ σοὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ· τῶν δὲ σὺ μὴ ξύνιε. 1240

Χαιρήσεις τῇ πρόσθε παροιχομένη φιλότῃτι,  
 τῆς δὲ παρερχομένης οὐκέτ' ἔση ταμίης.

Δὴν δὴ καὶ φίλοι ὤμεν· ἔπειτ' ἄλλοισιν ὁμίλει,  
 ἦθος ἔχων δόλιον, πίστεος ἀντίτυπον.

Οὐ ποθ' ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ συμμύξεται, οὐδέ ποθ' ἡμεῖς 1245  
 πιστοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ φίλοι ἐσσόμεθα.

Φρόντισον ἔχθος ἐμὸν καὶ ὑπέρβασιν, ἴσθι δὲ θυμῷ  
 ὥς σ' ἐφ' ἀμαρτωλῇ τίσομαι ὥς δύναμαι.

The second book is in A only, with the title *ελεγείων B* — 1237 συνεῖν  
 Lachmann — 1240 ξύνιε Buttman

Παῖ, σὺ μὲν αὐτῶς ἵππος, ἐπεὶ κριθῶν ἐκορέσθης,  
αὖθις ἐπὶ σταθμοὺς ἤλυθες ἡμετέρους, 1250  
ἡνίοχόν τε ποθῶν ἀγαθὸν λειμῶνά τε καλὸν  
κρήνην τε ψυχρὴν ἄλσεά τε σκιερά.

“Ολβιος, ᾧ παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι  
θηρευταί τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί.

“Οστις μὴ παῖδᾶς τε φιλεῖ καὶ μώνυχας ἵππους 1255  
καὶ κύνας, οὔποτε οἱ θυμὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ.

“Ὡ παῖ, κινδύνουσι πολυπλάγκτοισιν ὁμοῖος  
ὀργήν, ἄλλοτε τοῖς, ἄλλοτε τοῖσι φιλεῖν—  
ὦ παῖ, τὴν μορφὴν μὲν ἔφυσ καλός, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶκείται  
καρτερὸς ἀγνώμων σῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος· 1260  
ἰκτίνου γὰρ ἔχεις ἀγχιστρόφου ἐν φρεσὶν ἦθος,  
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθόμενος.

“Ὡ παῖ, ὃς εὖ ἔρδοντι κακὴν ἀπέδωκας ἀμοιβήν,  
οὐδέ τις ἀντ’ ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶ χάρις παρὰ σοί,  
οὐδέν πώ μ’ ὦνησας· ἐγὼ δὲ σέ πολλακίς ἤδη 1265  
εὖ ἔρδων αἰδοῦς οὐδεμιῆς ἔτυχον.

Παῖς τε καὶ ἵππος ὁμοῖον ἔχει νόον· οὔτε γὰρ ἵππος  
ἡνίοχον κλαίει κείμενον ἐν κονίῃ,  
ἀλλὰ τὸν ὕστερον ἄνδρα φέρει κριθαῖσι κορεσθεῖς·  
ὥς δ’ αὐτῶς καὶ παῖς τὸν παρεόντα φιλεῖ. 1270

“Ὡ παῖ, μαργουσύνῃς ἀπὸ μευ νόον ὠλεσας ἐσθλόν,  
αἰσχύνῃ δὲ φίλοις ἡμετέροις ἐγένον·  
ἄμμε δ’ ἀνέψυξας μικρὸν χρόνον· ἐκ δὲ θυελλῶν  
ἦκά γ’ ἐνωρμίσθην νυκτὸς ἐπειγόμενος.

1257 ἰκτίνουσι and κιλλούροισι have been proposed — 1258 φίλην, φίλος, φιλεῖ  
have been proposed — 1271 μαργουσυνῃς MS. ἀπὸ μὲν Bekker — 1273 θελλῶν —  
1274 ἐπειγομένης has been proposed

ὤραιος καὶ Ἔρως ἐπιτέλλεται, ἥνικα περ γῆ 1275  
 ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖς θάλλει ἀεξομένη·

τῆμος Ἔρως προλιπὼν Κύπρον, περικαλλέα νῆσον,  
 εἶσιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους σπέρμα φέρων κατὰ γῆς. 1278

Ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ πέρι, καί σ' ἐκέλευσεν *a*  
 οἷχεσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέρην φιλίην— *b*  
 νεβρόν ὑπέξ ἐλάφοιο λέων ὥς ἀλκί πεποιθὼς *c*  
 ποσσὶ καταιμάρψας αἵματος οὐκ ἔπιον. *d*

Οὐκ ἐθέλω σε κακῶς ἔρδειν, οὐδ' εἴ μοι ἄμεινον 1279  
 πρὸς θεῶν ἀθανάτων ἔσσεται, ᾧ καλὲ παῖ· 1280  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀμαρτωλαῖσιν ἐπὶ σμικραῖσι κάθημαι,  
 τῶν δὲ καλῶν παίδων οὐ τίσις οὐδ' ἀδίκων.

ὦ παῖ, μή μ' ἀδίκει—ἔτι σοι καταθύμιος εἶναι  
 βούλομαι—εὐφροσύνη τοῦτο συνεῖς ἀγαθῇ·  
 οὐ γάρ τοί με δόλῳ παρελεύσεται οὐδ' ἀπατήσεις· 1285  
 νικήσας γὰρ ἔχεις τὸ πλεόν ἐξοπίσω.  
 ἀλλὰ σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, ὥς ποτὲ φασιν  
 Ἰασίου κούρην, παρθένον Ἰασίην,  
 ὠραῖν περ ἐοῦσαν, ἀναινομένην γάμον ἀνδρῶν  
 φεύγειν· ζῶσαμένη δ' ἔργ' ἀτέλεστα τέλει, 1290  
 πατρὸς νοσφισθεῖσα δόμων, ξανθὴ Ἀταλάντη·  
 ὥχετο δ' ὑψηλὰς ἐς κορυφὰς ὀρέων,  
 φεύγουσ' ἡμερόεντα γάμον, χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης  
 δῶρα· τέλος δ' ἔγνω καὶ μάλ' ἀναινομένη.

ὦ παῖ, μή με κακοῖσιν ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ὀρίναις, 1295  
 μηδέ με σὴ φιλότης δώματα Περσεφόνης

1278c υπεξαφῶ — 1281 ουτο σ' ετουτ' αδικων — 1285 ου...δολωι was added in the margin of the ms. by a later hand — 1295 ὀρίνης Bekker

οἷχεται προφέρουσα· θεῶν δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν  
βάξιν τ' ἀνθρώπων, ἥπια νωσάμενος.

᾽Ω παῖ, μέχρι τίνος με προφεύξαι; ὥς σε διώκων  
δίξημ'. ἀλλὰ τί μοι τέρμα γένοιτο κιχεῖν 1300  
σῆς ὀργῆς. σὺ δὲ μάργον ἔχων καὶ ἀγήνορα θυμὸν  
φεύγεις, ἱκτίνου σχέτλιον ἦθος ἔχων.  
ἀλλ' ἐπίμεινον, ἐμοὶ δὲ δίδου χάριν. οὐκέτι δηρὸν  
ἔξεις Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου.

Θυμῷ γνούς, ὅτι παιδείας πολυηράτου ἄνθος 1305  
ὠκύτερον σταδίου, τοῦτο συνεῖς χάλασον  
δεσμοῦ, μή ποτε καὶ σὺ βιήσῃς, ὄβριμε παίδων,  
Κυπρογενοῦς δ' ἔργων ἀντιάσεις χαλεπῶν,  
ὥσπερ ἐγὼ νῦν ὧδ' ἐπὶ σοί. σὺ δὲ ταῦτα φύλαξαι,  
μηδέ σε νικήσῃ παιδ' ἀδαῇ κακότης. 1310

Οὐκ ἔλαθες κλέψας, ὦ παῖ· καὶ γὰρ σε διῶμμαι.  
τούτοις, οἷσπερ νῦν ἄρθμιος ἠδὲ φίλος  
ἔπλευ, ἐμὴν δὲ μεθήκας ἀτίμητον φιλότητα—  
οὐ μὲν δὴ τούτοις γ' ἦσθα φίλος πρότερον,  
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων σ' ἐδόκουν θήσεσθαι ἐταῖρον 1315  
πιστόν· καὶ δὴ νῦν ἄλλον ἔχεισθα φίλον.  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδων κείμε· σὲ δὲ μήτις ἀπάντων  
ἀνθρώπων ἐσορῶν παιδοφιλεῖν ἐθέλοι. 1318

᾽Ω μοι ἐγὼ δειλός· καὶ δὴ κατάχαρμα μὲν ἐχθροῖς α  
τοῖσι φίλοις δὲ πόνος δεινὰ παθὼν γενόμεν. δ

᾽Ω παῖ, ἐπεὶ τοι δῶκε θεὰ χάριν ἡμερόεσσαν 1319  
Κύπρις, σὸν δ' εἶδος παισὶ νέοισι μέλει, 1320

1301 σησοιγῇ — 1302 φεύγεις — 1309 οἰδ' MS.; οἰδ' Bergk — 1310 παιδαῖτῃ —  
1311 διῶμαι — 1312 φίλοις — 1314 συν μ. δ. τ. τ' — 1315 θήσεσθαι — 1316 ἐχοισθα —  
1317 κειμ — 1318 παιδα φιλεῖν — 1318 α ὠμοι — 1320 παισινεοῖσι MS., πᾶσι νέοισι  
Bekker

τῶνδ' ἐπάκουσον ἐπῶν καὶ ἐμὴν χάριν ἔνθεο θυμῷ,  
γνούς ἔρος ὡς χαλεπὸν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ φέρειν.

Κυπρογένη, παῦσόν με πόνων, σκέδασον δὲ μερίμνας  
θυμοβόρους, στρέψον δ' αὖθις ἐς εὐφροσύνας,  
μερμήρας δ' ἀπόπαυε κακάς, δὸς δ' εὐφροني θυμῷ 1325  
μέτρ' ἤβης τελέσαντ' ἔργματα σωφροσύνης.

ὦ παῖ, ἕως ἂν ἔχῃς λείαν γένυν, οὔποτε σαίνων  
παύσομαι, οὐδ' εἴ μοι μόρσιμόν ἐστι θανεῖν·  
σοὶ τε διδόντ' ἔτι καλόν, ἐμοί τ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐρῶντι 1330  
αἰτεῖν. ἀλλὰ γονέων λίσσομαι ἡμετέρων,  
αἰδέο μ', ὦ παῖ.....διδούς χάριν, εἴ ποτε καὶ σὺ  
ἔξεις Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου  
χρηίζων, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλον ἐλεύσεται. ἀλλά σε δαίμων  
δοίῃ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀντιτυχεῖν ἐπέων.

Ὀλβιος ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται, οἴκαδε δ' ἐλθὼν 1335  
εὔδει σὺν καλῷ παιδὶ πανημέριος.

Οὐκέτ' ἐρῶ παιδός, χαλεπὰς δ' ἀπελάκτισ' ἀνίας,  
μόχθους τ' ἀργαλέους ἄσμενος ἐξέφυγον,  
ἐκλέλυμαι δὲ πόθου πρὸς ἐussteφάνου Κυθереῖης·  
σοὶ, δ', ὦ παῖ, χάρις ἔστ' οὐδεμία πρὸς ἐμοῦ. 1340

Αἰαῖ, παιδὸς ἐρῶ ἀπαλόχροος, ὅς με φίλοισι  
πᾶσι μάλ' ἐκφαίνει, κούκ ἐθέλοντος ἐμοῦ.  
τλήσομαι οὐ κρύψας ἀεκούσια πολλὰ βίαια·  
οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' αἰκελίῳ παιδὶ δαμεῖς ἐφάνην.

1325 εὐφρόσων — 1327 λαν — 1329 διδοῦν Hermann — 1331 no gap in the MS.; καλέ and τήδε have been proposed — 1332 ἔχεις Couat — 1335 the MS. omits δ' — 1336 ευδεν — 1341 αἰαί — 1343 ακουσι

Παιδοφιλεῖν δέ τι τερπνόν, ἐπεὶ ποτε καὶ Γανυμήδους 1345  
 ἦρατο καὶ Κρονίδης, ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,  
 ἀρπάξας δ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἀνήγαγε, καὶ μιν ἔθηκε  
 δαίμονα, παιδείης ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρατόν.  
 οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε, Τιμωνίδη, οὐνεκα καὶ γὰρ  
 ἐξεδάμην καλοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι δαμείς. 1350

ὦ παῖ, μὴ κώμαζε, γέροντι δὲ πείθεο ἀνδρί.  
 οὐ τοι κωμάζειν σύμφορον ἀνδρὶ νέῳ.

Πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνής,  
 ὄφρα τέλειος ἔη, Κύρνε, νέοισιν ἔρως.  
 ἦν μὲν γὰρ τελέση, γλυκὺ γίνεται· ἦν δὲ διώκων 1355  
 μὴ τελέση, πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.

Αἰεὶ παιδοφίλησιν ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι κεῖται  
 δύσμορον, ἀργαλέον μνήμα φιλοξενίης·  
 χρὴ γάρ τοι περὶ παῖδα πονούμενον εἰς φιλότητα  
 ὥσπερ κληματίνῃ χεῖρα πυρὶ προσάγειν. 1360

Ναῦς πέτρη προσέκυρσας ἐμῆς φιλότητος ἀμαρτῶν,  
 ὦ παῖ, καὶ σαπροῦ πείσματος ἀντελάβου.

Οὐδαμὰ σ' οὐδ' ἀπεὼν δηλήσομαι, οὐδέ με πείσει  
 οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ὥστε με μὴ σε φιλεῖν.

ὦ παῖδων κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων, 1365  
 στῆθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μου παῦρ' ἐπάκουσον ἔπη.  
 παιδὸς τοι χάρις ἐστί, γυναικὶ δὲ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος  
 οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸν παρεόντα φιλεῖ.

παιδὸς ἔρως καλὸς μὲν ἔχειν, καλὸς δ' ἀποθέσθαι·  
πολλὸν δ' εὐρέσθαι ῥήτερον ἢ τελέσαι. 1370  
μυρία δ' ἔξ αὐτοῦ κρέματαί κακά, μυρία δ' ἐσθλά·  
ἀλλ' ἔν τοι ταύτῃ καί τις ἔνεστι χάρις.

Οὐδαμά πω κατέμεινας ἐμὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πᾶσαν  
αἰεὶ σπουδαίην ἔρχεαι ἀγγελίην.

Ὀλβιος ὅστις παιδὸς ἐρῶν οὐκ οἶδε θάλασσαν, 1375  
οὐδέ οἱ ἐν πόντῳ νύξ ἐπιούσα μέλει.

Καλὸς ἐὼν κακότητι φίλων δειλοῖσιν ὀμιλεῖς  
ἀνδράσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αἰσχρὸν ὄνειδος ἔχεις,  
ὦ παῖ· ἐγὼ δ' ἀέκων τῆς σῆς φιλότητος ἀμαρτῶν  
ὠνήμην ἐρίδων οἶά τ' ἐλεύθερος ἄν. 1380

Ἀνθρωποὶ σ' ἐδόκουν χρυσῆς παρὰ δῶρον ἔχοντα  
ἐλθεῖν Κυπρογενοῦς.....

..... Κυπρογενοῦς δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου  
γίνεται ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,  
ἂν μὴ Κυπρογενὴς δῶ λύσιν ἐκ χαλεπῶν. 1385

Κυπρογενὲς Κυθήρεια δολοπλόκε, σοὶ τί περισσὸν  
Ζεὺς τόδε τιμήσας δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχειν;  
δαμναῖ δ' ἀνθρώπων πυκινὰς φρένας, οὐδέ τίς ἐστιν  
οὕτως ἴφθιμος καὶ σοφὸς ὥστε φυγεῖν.

1372 ταυτη — 1377 φμιον MS.; φρενῶν and κακότητα φίλῶν have been proposed  
— 1380 ἐρδων — 1381 ἀνθρώποις ἐδ. — 1382-3 the MS. has ε. κ. δ. ι. without break  
— 1386 κύθειρα MS. σοὶ τί MS. according to Ziegler; vulgo σοὶ τι, with a colon  
after ἔχειν — 1388 δαμνας δ' the MS.; δάμνασαι Bergk.

## CHAPTER I.

### THEOGNIS IN GREEK LITERATURE.

THE name of Theognis does not play a large part in Greek literature, and the passages from which anything about him can be gathered are neither many in number nor precise in language; but it is on these passages that the modern criticism of Theognis for the most part depends, and with these an examination of modern criticism must begin.

PLATO, *Meno*, pp. 95 C—96 A.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. οἶσθα δὲ ὅτι οὐ μόνον σοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πολιτικοῖς τοῦτο δοκεῖ τοτὲ μὲν εἶναι διδακτόν, τοτὲ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεόγνιν τὸν ποιητὴν οἶσθ' ὅτι ταῦτα ταῦτα λέγει;

ΜΕΝΩΝ. ἐν ποίοις ἔπεσιν;

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις, οὗ λέγει

καὶ παρὰ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν

ἕξε, καὶ ἄνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις.

ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξεται· ἣν δὲ κακοῖσιν

συμμίσγῃς<sup>1</sup>, ἀπολείς καὶ τὸν ἔοντα νόον.

οἶσθ' ὅτι ἐν τούτοις μὲν ὡς διδακτοῦ οὐσης τῆς ἀρετῆς λέγει;

ΜΕΝΩΝ. φαίνεται γε.

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ. ἐν ἄλλοις δέ γε ὀλίγον μεταβάς,

εἰ δ' ἦν ποιητόν, φησί, καὶ ἐνθετον ἀνδρὶ νόημα,

<sup>1</sup> The manuscripts have *συμμιγῇς*.



λέγει πως ὅτι

πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον  
οἱ δυνάμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ

οὐ ποτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἔγεντο<sup>1</sup> κακός,  
πειθόμενος μύθοισι σαόφροσιν. ἀλλὰ διδάσκων  
οὐ ποτε ποιήσεις τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

ἐννοεῖς ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πάλιν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τὰναντία λέγει;

MENON. φαίνεται.

On this passage so much has been based that Plato's words must be examined with care.

The question ἐν ποίοις ἔπεσιν; and its answer ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις have presented the first difficulty. Three uses of ποῖος are to be distinguished in Plato. The first is the ordinary meaning, "of what kind?" Secondly, ποῖος or ὁ ποῖος asks for an explanation of a term whose meaning has escaped the speaker; it stands in clear connexion and in grammatical agreement with some preceding word<sup>2</sup>. Thirdly, ποῖος expresses ridicule of something said by the previous speaker, catching it up and rejecting it with scorn<sup>3</sup>. Neither to the second nor to the third class does our passage bear any resemblance, for here Meno joins ποῖος with a noun which Socrates has not used and of which he has given no hint. Nothing in Meno's words conveys ridicule, or a doubt whether Socrates can produce such a contradiction as he promises<sup>4</sup>. ποῖος must therefore have its simple and natural

<sup>1</sup> The manuscripts have ἐγένετο.

<sup>2</sup> *Politicus* 280 B: ΖΕΝ....πολλῶν δὲ ἐτέρων συγγενῶν ἀπεμερίσθη. ΝΕ. ΣΩΚΡ. ποίων, εἰπέ, συγγενῶν; ΖΕΝ. οὐχ ἔσπου τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν, ὥς φάνη. *Philebus* 34 B, *Sophist* 250 A, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Euthydemus* 290 E: ΣΩ. ἀλλ' ἄρα, ὦ πρὸς Διός, μὴ ὁ Κτήσιππος ᾗν ὁ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ μέμνημαι; ΚΡ. ποῖος Κτήσιππος; "Ctesippus forsooth!" *Charmides* 174 B, *Euthydemus* 304 E, *Gorgias* 490 D, etc. Fritzsche, in his notes on *Meno* 95 C and *Rivals* 132 B, fails to observe that when ποῖος "interrogat cum dubitatione et cum irrisione" it is in grammatical connexion with the word which causes the doubt or scorn, even where that word is not actually repeated in the question.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Müller, *de scriptis Theognideis*, p. 42: "Nam qui possumus adduci ut credamus, cum Meno quaereret ἐν ποίοις ἔπεσιν, Socratem intellexisse: in quibus carminibus? Cur non id quod proprie ea verba significant: in qualibus

meaning: "in what kind of verses?"<sup>1</sup> Socrates gives an equally simple and natural answer: "in his elegiacs." The only inference which this question and answer warrant is that Meno and Socrates, as Plato represents them, were acquainted with poems of Theognis not written in the elegiac metre<sup>2</sup>. These poems have vanished, it is true, and left no trace behind them<sup>3</sup>. But another poem also has left no trace but a brief mention in Suidas, namely the "elegy on the Syracusans who were saved in the siege." This too stood apart from the gnomic elegiacs; and if the gnomic poetry remains while this has vanished, other poems may have shared its fate. That hexameters could be used for gnomic purposes in the time of Theognis we see from the fragments of Phocylides, with whom Theognis is often linked<sup>4</sup>.

Of the two passages which Socrates quotes the first is lines 33—6 of our text, the second is from lines 434—8. This interval of four hundred lines was thought by nearly all who wrote on Theognis during the nineteenth century to

versibus h.e. qualia sunt ista carmina quae dicis, vel in quibus Theognidem istud contendere dicis? Ad quod bene Socrates: Quid tu istud quaeris? nempe in elegiacis suis versibus. Voce autem et vultu facile potuit Socrates ignorantiam hominis reprehendere, ut etiam hoc dixerit: ecqua alia nosti carmina? Praeclare enim mihi videntur inter se convenire et quod Meno interrogat: *ἐν ποίους*; h.e. in qualibus poematis?—non igitur eorum inscriptionem, sed numeros quaerens—et quod Socrates voce *ἐλεγεία* utitur, quae vulgo ad numeros spectat." Müller understands *ποίους* aright, but he reads into Plato's words an impossible by-play of tone and look. Greek, with its store of particles, was rich in means of expressing such surprise as Müller would have Socrates feel at Meno's question; and these means Plato was least of all likely to forget.

<sup>1</sup> For *ἔπος* meaning 'verse' in general, not 'hexameter' in particular, compare Plato, *Laws* vii. p. 810 E, *ἐπὶ τῶν ἑξαμέτρων καὶ τριμέτρων*, where *ἑξαμέτρων* and *τριμέτρων* are clearly adjectives; Aristophanes, *Knights* 39, *Frogs* 862, 956, 1161; Theognis 20, 22; etc. See Francke's *Callinus*, pp. 85 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Buttmann *ad loc.*: "apparet hinc Theognidem alia quoque poemata heroico, ut videtur, metro scripsisse." So Francke, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> At least only one trace, and that doubtful. See below.

<sup>4</sup> Ernst von Leutsch (*Philologus* xxix. p. 522) infers from the passage of the *Meno* that *Ἐλεγεία* was the name of a section of Theognis' elegiac poetry. But since Meno asks "In what kind of verses?" not "In what volume of his works?" we naturally expect from Socrates an answer to this question; and such an answer we find if we give *τοῖς ἐλεγείοις* its ordinary meaning and take it not as a title but as a description.

be incompatible with ὀλίγον μεταβάς<sup>1</sup>. An inquiry into the meaning of μεταβαίνειν will prove this opinion false. A typical instance of Plato's use of μεταβαίνειν is in the *Parmenides*, 162 D: εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἀλλοιοῦται μήτε ἐν ταυτῷ στρέφεται μήτε μεταβαίνει, ἀρ' ἂν πῃ ἔτι κινοῖτο; Compare *Cratylus*, 438 A: ἐπανελθωμεν δὲ πάλιν ὅθεν δεῦρο μετέβημεν: *Republic*, viii. 550 D: ὡς μεταβαίνει πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς τιμαρχίας εἰς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν<sup>2</sup>. Here and everywhere in Plato μεταβαίνειν denotes *change* of position, not progress; it never means "to proceed." Von Leutsch saw this, and rightly compared the use of μεταβαίνειν as a technical term of the rhapsode's art. In the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, after Demodocus has sung the strife of Odysseus and Achilles, Odysseus bids him *change his theme* (489—493):

λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον αἰεῖδεις...  
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον  
δουρατέου, τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ.

So in the Homeric hymns which served as preludes to epic recitations the transition to the story is marked by one of a few formulae: in some by αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοδῆς, in others by σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον. This is not the language of continuous progress but of change. μεταβαίνειν means to quit one theme for another; and it is a word proper to the rhapsode, not to the poet. From this it would seem to follow that μεταβάς in the *Meno* must refer not to interval but to change of opinion or point of view. Fritzsche finds ὀλίγον incompatible with this interpretation of μεταβάς. But the two statements which Socrates quotes from Theognis do not directly contradict each other. A manual of cricket might tell its reader that great cricketers are born, not made, and

<sup>1</sup> "ὀλίγον μεταβάς," says Bergk in his note on 435, "proves that this elegy was separated by no very long interval from lines 33 and following." So von Leutsch (*Philologus* xxix. p. 522): "Plato says moreover that in his copy line 435 followed shortly after our line 35."

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Phaedrus* 262 A, *Cratylus* 439 E, *Laws* v. 744 C, etc.

yet warn him afterwards against the danger of consorting with players worse than himself. So, in the opinion of Theognis, though νόημα is inborn, not implanted, yet evil communications corrupt good sense. ὀλίγον μεταβάς means "slightly changing his point of view."<sup>1</sup>

The second of the passages to which Socrates appeals is 429—38. He quotes first 435, then 434, then 436, 437, 438. In the arrangement of the lines as they stand in our text of Theognis Bergk sees the work of the abridger whom he mentions at every turn in his notes. "Scripserrat poeta :

οὐδ' Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτό γ' ἔδωκε θεὸς  
ἰᾶσθαι κακότητα καὶ ἀτηρὰς φρένας ἀνδρῶν.

εἰ δ' ἦν ποιητόν τε καὶ ἔνθετον ἀνδρὶ νόημα,  
πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφερον.

κοῦποτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ κτλ."<sup>2</sup>

The only thing which favours Bergk is a difference of reading in 432. For εἰ δ' the second best manuscript has οὐδ'; and with οὐδ' the line is quoted by Plutarch, Dio of Prusa, and

<sup>1</sup> Such is the interpretation of Ficino, Cousin and Jowett; while Stallbaum, Hirschig and Müller agree with Bergk and von Leutsch.

Bekker, with whom Bergk at first agreed, would read καταβάς, an unnecessary change. Neither μεταβάς (in the sense which Bergk would give it) nor καταβάς is so appropriate to the writer as to his reader. Similarly in English, "turning over a few pages we read so-and-so" is very well, but "turning over a few pages the writer says so-and-so" is absurd.

What Plato would have said if he had been speaking of interval may be seen from the following passages. *Hippias minor* 370 A: προειπὼν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἐπη... (*Iliad* x. 312—3), ὀλίγον ὕστερον λέγει ὡς... (*Iliad* x. 357—63). *Protagoras* 339 C: οἶσθα οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι προεῖντος τοῦ ἔσματος λέγει που.... *Protagoras* 345 C: τὰ ἐπὶ πάντα τοῦ ἔσματος.

<sup>2</sup> It is hard to see how this rearrangement is supported, as Bergk claims, by Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1179<sup>b</sup>: εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι αὐτάρκεις πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιεικείας, πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους δικαίως ἔφερον κατὰ τὸν Θεόγνυν, καὶ ἔδει ἂν τούτοις πορίσασθαι. "If λόγοι had it in them to make men ἐπιεικείας, they would deserve to 'earn many fees and great,' as Theognis says." The personification of οἱ λόγοι is due to Aristotle, not to Theognis.

Clearchus<sup>1</sup>. But these three authors probably followed a popular misquotation which changed *εἰ δ'* to *οὐδ'* in separating the line from its context; and from this substitution the reading of the Vatican manuscript—nothing better than a blunder—must be kept apart.

Observe how Socrates introduces his second passage: *ἐν ἄλλοις δέ γε ὀλίγον μεταβάς, εἰ δ' ἦν ποιητόν, φησί, καὶ ἐνθετον ἀνδρὶ νόημα, λέγει πως ὅτι πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς κτλ.* "He says somehow" is an odd way of introducing a direct quotation<sup>2</sup>. As a matter of fact there are only four more passages in the whole of Plato where *πως* is thus used; in three of them he misquotes, and in the fourth his own words shew that he is quoting only from a memory which he does not trust<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Quaestiones Platonicae* i. 3; Dio i. § 8; Clearchus apud Athenaeum vi. p. 256 c. The last is rather an incorporation than a quotation: *ὦν λατρεῦσαι τὴν ἀγροίαν οὐδ' Ἀσκληπιδάδαι τοῦτό γε νομίζω δεδῶσθαι.*

<sup>2</sup> "*πως* mirationem significat" says Fritzsche; but he does not tell us how, or where else, or by what right.

<sup>3</sup> Though it may seem superfluous I will quote the passages.

*Ion* 538 c: *τί δὲ δὴ εἴπῃ Ὅμηρος λέγει ὡς τετρωμένῳ τῷ Μαχάδῳ Ἑκαμήδῃ ἢ Νέστορος παλλακὴ κυκεῶνα πίνειν δίδωσι; καὶ λέγει πως οὕτως·*

*ὄνῳ πρᾶμνείῳ, φησὶν, ἐπὶ δ' αἰγείῳ κνή τυρὸν  
κνήσι χαλκείῳ· παρὰ δὲ κρόμμον ποτῷ ὄψον.*

Now *ὄνῳ...χαλκείῳ* comes from *Iliad* xi. 639—40, the rest from 630.

*Lysis* 213 E: *ἧ δὲ ἐτράπημεν, δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι λέναι, σκοποῦντας κατὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς...λέγουσι δὲ πως ταῦτα, ὡς ἐγώ μαι, ὦδ'·*

*αἰεὶ τοὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεοὶ ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.*

In *Odyssey* xvii. 218 the line begins *ὡς αἰεὶ...*; but doubtless Plato knew other forms of the adage, and so used the generalising *πως*: "in some such words as these."

*Second Alcibiades* 142 E: *λέγει δὲ πως ὦδ' (an unknown poet)· Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλά, φησί, καὶ εὐχομένοις καὶ ἀνέυκτοις ἄμμι δίδου, τὰ δὲ δειλά καὶ εὐχομένοις ἀπαλέξευ κελεύει.* In the Anthology, x. 108, the second line ends thus: *τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ καὶ εὐχομένων ἀπερύκοις.*

*Gorgias* 484 B: *λέγει οὕτω πως· τὸ γὰρ ἄσμα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.* Some lines from a lost ode of Pindar precede. The speaker probably misquotes (see Schröder's Pindar, fragment 169); but in any case he is conscious that he *may* be misquoting.

Compare Xenophon, *Memorabilia* ii. 1: *καὶ Πρόδικος...ὦδὲ πως λέγων, ὅσα ἐγὼ μέμνημαι.*

In all these passages *πως* is added to *ὦδε* or *ὦδ' or οὕτω*; but then in none of them is it bound up so closely with the actual words of the quotation as in the *Meno*, where *οὕτω πως* could not stand.

Thus the present passage does not support Bergk's rearrangement at all, but rather suggests that it is Plato who rearranges. If he had been quoting the lines in their true order he would have needed neither the apologetic *πως* nor the words *οἱ δυνάμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν* with which he bridges over the gap between two pentameters. It would be hard to fill in Bergk's outline well; it is harder still to believe that abridgment could have produced so good a poem as ours with so much shuffling of the verses and so little change in their words. But, be that as it may, Plato cannot be brought forward as a witness against our text.

Thus from this one passage several inferences have been drawn which examination shews to be false<sup>1</sup>.

ISOCRATES, *ad Nicoclem*, §§ 43, 44.

σημεῖον δ' ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο τὴν Ἑσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποιήσιν. καὶ γὰρ τούτους φασὶ μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενῆσθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες αἰροῦνται συνδιατρίβειν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις. ἔτι δ' εἴ τις ἐκλέξειε τῶν προεχόντων ποιητῶν τὰς καλουμένας γνώμας, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκείνοι μάλιστ' ἐσπούδασαν, ὁμοίως ἂν καὶ πρὸς ταύτας διατεθεῖεν· ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν κωμῳδίας τῆς φαυλοτάτης ἢ τῶν οὕτω τεχνικῶς πεποιημένων ἀκούσειαν.

This passage has been much quoted in recent criticisms of Theognis. Bergk, who regards our Theognis as a collection of extracts from many poets, admits that the words of Isocrates prove that in his time "nondum talis sylloge extabat. Sed nihil prohibet quominus existimemus non ita multo post has eclogas ex poetis elegiacis factas esse<sup>2</sup>." Not only does the passage imply that in the middle of the fourth century Theognis was read in an independent form, but it also suggests that his poetry as it was then known was of such a

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written Mr E. S. Thompson's edition of the *Meno* has appeared. Mr Thompson translates *ὀλίγον μεταβὰς* "in a somewhat different strain," and adds: "in the present place *ὀλίγον* is ironical." *πως* he takes to indicate loose quotation.

<sup>2</sup> *Poetas Lyrici Graeci*, ed. iv. vol. ii. p. 235.

kind that no process of selection was necessary to make it a body of useful advice concerning human life. Isocrates joins Theognis with Hesiod and Phocylides, and distinguishes these three from those poets out of whose works a body of gnomes might be drawn by selection. Phocylides, who wrote precepts in single lines or couplets, was in the fullest form of his poetry a σύμβουλος τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. If his satiric trifles, such as the famous couplet about the men of Leros, were included in the collection which bore his name, they must have been relatively so few that its character remained predominantly gnomic. Such a poet it is natural to put in company with Hesiod. The didactic poems which went under Hesiod's name seldom forgot their didactic purpose. They were not without the desire to please, but their first object was to instruct. Very little could be cut out of the *Works and Days* without diminishing the value of the poem as a body of moral and practical precepts. Far otherwise is it with Homer or Aeschylus. The *Iliad* is in a sense a σύμβουλος τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, but not in the sense of which Isocrates is here thinking. If a series of precepts such as Hesiod or Phocylides presented were to be drawn from the *Iliad*, it could only be by an immense reduction of bulk. Such poets as these Isocrates must have had in his mind, or he would not have added ἐφ' αἷς ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστ' ἐσπούδασαν, "on which they have lavished the best of themselves," "into which they have put their best work"—for that seems to be the meaning of the words. He seems to mean that the aphorisms which are to be found here and there in a Greek tragedy or epic are the result of an especial effort of the poet's mind. That Isocrates has in view a clear distinction between the purely didactic poets and this other class appears from his use of the words ἐτι δὲ and καὶ πρὸς ταύτας, which mark a sharp division<sup>1</sup>. Theognis then he puts among the

<sup>1</sup> Even R. Reitzenstein (*Epigramm und Skolion*, p. 71) misses this antithesis and writes as if Isocrates were speaking of Hesiod, Theognis and Phocylides only throughout the passage. But at least he sees that the passage will not bear the construction commonly put upon it:—"Es ist unmöglich, aus diesen Worten für unsere Sammlung irgendwelche Folgerung zu ziehen."

didactic poets who needed no abridger. Thus we have in his words presumptive evidence that in his time the character of Theognis' poetry was predominantly gnomic; that the gnomic element so much outweighed all the rest that Theognis could fairly be mentioned between Hesiod and Phocylides. So he can to-day.

XENOPHON apud Stobaeum (*Florilegium* lxxxviii. 14).

Ξενοφώντος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Θεόγνιδος.

Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως· οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου λόγον πεποιήται ἢ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ποιήσεις σύγγραμμα περὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἵππικὸς ὦν συγγράψειεν περὶ ἵππικῆς. ἡ οὖν ἀρχὴ μοι δοκεῖ τῆς ποιήσεως ὀρθῶς ἔχειν· ἀρχεται γὰρ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὖ γενέσθαι. ᾤετο γὰρ οὔτε ἀνθρώπον οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἂν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ τὰ γεννήσοντα ἀγαθὰ εἴη. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ παραδείγμασι τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις χρῆσασθαι, ὅσα μὴ εἰκὴ τρέφεται ἀλλὰ μετὰ τέχνης ἕκαστα θεραπεύεται ὅπως γεννασιότατα ἔσονται. δηλοῖ δ' ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι<sup>1</sup>

κριοὺς μὲν καὶ ὄνους διζήμεθα, Κύρνε, καὶ ἵππους

εὐγενέας, καὶ τοι βούλεται ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ

κτῆσασθαι· γῆμαι δὲ κακὴν κακοῦ οὐ μελεδαίνει

ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ, ἣν τις χρήματα πολλὰ διδῶ·

οὐδὲ γυνὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίνεται εἶναι ἄκοιτις

πλουσίου, ἀλλ' ἀφνεὸν βούλεται ἀντ' ἀγαθοῦ·

χρήματα γὰρ τιμῶσι· καὶ ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἔγῃμε,

καὶ κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ· πλοῦτος ἔμιξε γένος.

ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη λέγει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι γεννᾶν ἐξ ἀλλήλων, κατὰ γίνεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων κάκιον ἀεὶ μιγνύμενον τὸ χεῖρον τῷ βελτίονι. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν οἶονται τὸν ποιητὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ ἀντὶ χρημάτων ἀγένηιαν καὶ κακίαν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι εἰδότας· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ἄγνοϊαν κατηγορεῖν περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βίον.

<sup>1</sup> Lines 183—90. I neglect the slight differences of reading.



*σύγγραμμα* has given trouble<sup>1</sup>. True, it is a word especially appropriate to prose<sup>2</sup>; but that is no reason at all why Xenophon should not use it here. It is a part of his comparison. Such a manual as the *ἵππικός* would write would naturally be a *σύγγραμμα* or prose treatise; and, accordingly, by a common figure of speech, *σύγγραμμα* is used of the work which is compared to such a manual. Thus, if it is urged that no writer of Xenophon's time could apply the words *οὗτος δὲ...ἵππικῆς* to the poetry of Theognis, objection must be taken not to the use of *σύγγραμμα* but to the sentiment, and proof must be given that Xenophon could not have taken such a view of Theognis if he had known him in the present form. On this point von Leutsch's pronouncement is emphatic: "in fine it is manifest that the writer of these words knew only a small part of the poetry of Theognis"; but he gives no proof. As a matter of fact *ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία ἀνθρώπων* is the very note which dominates our text. Even in the four invocations which serve as preface we find the word *ἐσθλός* in line 4, *κακός* in 13, *καλός* in 16; line 17 is *ὅτι καλὸν φίλον ἐστί, τὸ δ' οὐ καλὸν οὐ φίλον ἐστί*; the further preface in lines 19—26 has the words *κάκιον* and *τούσθλου*; and after that, in lines 27—35, comes at once the antithesis of good and bad which reappears at short intervals throughout the book. Not a page passes without a contrast between *ἀγαθός* and *κακός*, or *ἐσθλός* and *δειλός*, or *ἀρετὴ* and *κακία*, or *πιστός* and *ἄπιστος*, or *εὐσεβής* and *ἀσεβής*, or *δίκαιος* and *ἄδικος*, or some such pair of words denoting a virtue and a vice. Thus there is one theme to which the poet incessantly reverts. Other poems, it is true, are to be found here and there in the book, such

<sup>1</sup> Von Leutsch (*Philologus* xxix. p. 520) says that *οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητής...ἵππικῆς* are 'worte, die weder Xenophon noch Antisthenes noch sonst ein alter hat schreiben können, da ein solcher *σύγγραμμα* hier nicht gebraucht und überhaupt nicht ohne rücksicht auf den politischen charakter des Theognis von diesem gesprochen hätte.'

<sup>2</sup> *συγγράφειν* means 'to compile,' and the earliest forms of prose were in fact compilations; but *συγγράφειν* and *σύγγραμμα* continued to be used of prose long after the writing of prose had become an art. Thus in Plato's *Lysis*, 205 A, *συγγράφειν* (prose) is contrasted with *ποιεῖν* (poetry).

as lines 511—22, 1211—6, 993—6, and so on; but they are relatively few, and do not change the general character of the book. Xenophon or Antisthenes or any other writer, having our collection before him, was quite justified in describing it as *σύγγραμμα περὶ ἀνθρώπων*, and its subject as *ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία ἀνθρώπων*. Thus the words *οὗτος δὲ...περὶ ἵππικῆς* may very well be due to Xenophon. For ascribing them to Xenophon rather than to Antisthenes or any one else there is a reason which has hitherto been overlooked, though it is not without weight. From nobody could the words *ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἵππικὸς ὦν συγγράψειεν περὶ ἵππικῆς* come more aptly than from Xenophon, who was himself *ἵππικὸς εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος*, and published *συγγράμματα* *On Horsemanship* and *On the Functions of an Officer of Cavalry*<sup>1</sup>.

But difficulties remain, and no criticism of the passage seems yet to have been made which removes them all. The first is the anomalous position of *Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως*, which certainly needs some explanation. Von Leutsch, for this reason and others, would amend the text of Stobaeus by sweeping changes. After *γένους ἦν* he would read *Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως* as the title of a fresh extract; then the lines *κριοὺς μὲν κτλ.*; then, as a criticism of these lines, *ἡ οὖν ἀρχὴ...ἔσονται*; then another extract, to which belonged *οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητῆς...περὶ ἵππικῆς. δηλοῖ δ' ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσιν*.

*κριοὺς μὲν κτλ.*

His chief reason is the evidence of confusion in the text of Stobaeus. In the first place Victor Trincavellus in his edition of Stobaeus has of number 14 only the title *Ξενοφώντος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Θεόγνιδος*, the words *Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως*, and the actual lines of Theognis. But Trincavellus is known to have used a "codex minus integer parumque emendatus".

<sup>1</sup> Modesty would not have deterred a Greek, as it might a modern writer, from such a reference to his own writings. Moreover the passage about Theognis may have been written before the manuals of horsemanship. The *Ἱππάρχικὸς* at least does not belong to Xenophon's youth, for he speaks with authority, and there is some reason to think it written shortly before the battle of Mantinea.

<sup>2</sup> Gaisford's Stobaeus, preface, p. ii.

It may be added that the Vienna manuscript S, of the eleventh century, agrees with Trincavellus: but S makes other omissions<sup>1</sup>. Secondly, von Leutsch attaches some importance to the way in which this passage is used in Pseudo-Plutarch *De* (rather *Pro*) *Nobilitate*, complaining that the passage of Stobaeus and the bearing of the *De Nobilitate* upon it have never been adequately examined. But he himself does not seem to have known the worthlessness of the *Pro Nobilitate*, for which recent writers on Plutarch express the utmost disdain. "The whole treatise," says R. Volkmann<sup>2</sup>, "is obviously the work of a barefaced cheat. Its author had read the Anthology of Stobaeus, and had found therein two passages from a treatise of Plutarch *κατὰ εὐγενείας*, one from his *ὑπὲρ εὐγενείας*. Supposing, it may be rightly, that these three passages belonged to one and the same treatise, he undertook to reconstruct it out of his own head by the simple process of putting the third passage at the head of his botch, joining to it other passages of similar purport from Stobaeus, sometimes however under the names of writers to whom they did not belong, and seasoning this hodge-podge with ell-long quotations from Homer and Euripides, whole chapters from Herodotus and Aristotle, and some quotations of his own invention." This production was lost after it had been translated into Latin, and the Greek text which we possess is "nothing more than a translation made from the Latin by somebody very indifferently acquainted with Greek; so that a twofold forgery is before us." For the most part this last translator availed himself of Stobaeus wherever the original compiler had used Stobaeus; but in the fifteenth chapter it is manifest that for some reason, probably by oversight, he did not copy out lxxxviii. 14 of Stobaeus but made a bad translation from the Latin for himself. Only the Latin version has the thirteenth extract, after which the Latin and Greek proceed as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Commentationes Ribbeckianae*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Leben und Schriften des Plutarch*, p. 119. The same judgment is passed by G. N. Bernardakis, vol. vii. p. vi. of his edition of the *Moralia*.

Atque quidem ut ait Xenophon Megarensis Theognidis carmina feruntur. Hic poeta de virtute vitiisque hominum nec alia re ulla sermonem instituit, nec iniuria dici potest commentarius de hominum vita: haud aliter quam si peritus rei equestris de ea re scriptum aliquod edat. Huius poematis, meo iudicio, certe institutum est principium, cum orditur a bonitate generis.

ταῦτα μὲν Θεόγνιδος περιφέρεται ὡς ὁ Μεγαρεὺς Ξενοφῶν λέγει. οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας ἀνθρώπων λόγους ποιεῖται, καὶ εἰκότως περὶ ἀνθρώπων βίου ἀπομνημόνευμα καλεῖσθαι δύναται, παραπλησίως εἰ τῆς ἵππικῆς ἐπιστήμων τις περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγεγράφει. τούτου τοῦ ποιήματος, ὡς οἶμαι, συνισταμένη ἐστὶν ἀρχή, ὅταν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ τοῦ γένους προοιμιάζει.

That the Greek comes straight from the Latin is proved by many things—by *συνισταμένη ἐστὶν ἀρχή*, for example, which can be nothing but a childish mistranslation of “institutum est principium”—but by nothing more clearly than the mistake whereby Xenophon and not Theognis is made the native of Megara. This is obviously due to the ambiguous position of “Megarensis” in the Latin. But, it may be asked, why did the man who translated the original Greek into Latin say “Megarensis Theognidis” rather than “Theognidis Megarensis,” the natural order? It would seem that by this inversion he tried to reproduce the effect of the order of the words in Greek; for the arrangement *Θεόγνιδος ἐστὶν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως* inevitably lays stress on *τοῦ Μεγαρέως*. Whether he saw the real point of this order, or thought it designed to distinguish the elegiac poet from “the writer of very frigid tragedies, who was nicknamed Snow<sup>1</sup>,” we cannot say, nor does it matter; but this is clear, that the Greek text of the *Pro Nobilitate* has here no independent value. The original Greek from which the Latin came perhaps ran thus: *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς φησι Ξενοφῶν, Θεόγνιδος ἐστὶν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως· οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς κτλ.* Going a step further back, we have next to consider what the compiler

<sup>1</sup> Suidas s.v. *Θέογνις*.

found in his text of Stobaeus. Clearly he found no gap between extracts 13 and 14. His text must have presented something like this:—...οὐ γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ ἐγέννησεν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκ τοιούτου γένους ἦν. Ξενοφώντος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Θεόγνιδος. Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως. οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς κτλ. By what train of thought or anything else he imagined these sentences to be connected; how he explained to himself the interruption of syntax caused by the words Ξενοφώντος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Θεόγνιδος—these and other such questions need not be discussed, for the intelligence of this compiler is as small as his faith is bad.

Of the many other objections which may be urged against von Leutsch's treatment of the passage of Stobaeus, as that he postulates a very considerable amount of textual error, not the least is that he regards Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως as having been originally a lemma. This is very unlikely. Nowhere else does Stobaeus give an extract so fanciful a heading. His regular practice is to give the name of author and work in the fewest possible words<sup>1</sup>. It is true that to quote Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως was a very natural way to introduce an extract from Theognis, as καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδεω would be natural in a quotation from Phocylides; but the fact remains that everywhere else Stobaeus is content with the single word Θεόγνιδος.

We may then put aside von Leutsch's conjectures, together with the deficiencies of Trincavellus and the absurdities of the *Pro Nobilitate*, and return to the established text of Stobaeus. It has been generally inferred from the words ἡ οὖν ἀρχὴ... τῆς ποιήσεως that the lines there quoted stood at the beginning of the poems of Theognis as they were known to Xenophon or whoever was the author of this criticism; and accordingly Welcker gives those lines the first place in his edition. Is this inference just?

To go back to the obvious difficulty presented by the position of the first words, Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως. Some have thought them a gloss which has crept in from

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Εὐριπίδου Μελανίππη, τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φρίξψ, ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους Χρειῶν, Ἡσιόδου Ἔργων, Σωτάδου.

the margin; and certainly if the passage which Stobaeus quotes had not contained the name of the poet, some such gloss would have been a convenience in an old manuscript as in a modern edition, and no better form could have been found for the note than the words to which Theognis himself had given his sanction. But if an explanation can be found which does not postulate corruption in the text, so much the better. Let us suppose that the writer had introduced the subject of the influence of heredity on character, and had gone on in some such words as these: "On this point I am minded of an elegy of one of our poets, and that οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλ', ἵνα κατ' αὐτὸν λέγω τὸν γράψαντα, Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως· οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς κτλ." This suggestion is of course only a guess; but if it is once proved that some reasonable train of thought could have led to the words of our text, then a difficulty is at once done away. Stobaeus, or the compiler of some earlier anthology from which Stobaeus may have borrowed, would naturally begin his extract with Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως; for what preceded was not to his purpose, and these words were necessary as revealing the author from whom Xenophon quotes.

The next difficulty lies in the words οὖν and ποιήσεως. ποιήσεις cannot mean "poem." It can be used of a large body of verse<sup>1</sup>, such as the poetry of Propertius taken as a whole, for example; but not of a comparatively short piece such as a single elegy of Propertius or the poem of Theognis from which Xenophon quotes. Does τῆς ποιήσεως then mean here what Welcker imagines, the poetry of Theognis taken as a whole? If so, οὖν has no meaning. It does not mark a consequence here, for the fact that a poet begins his poetry

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Thucydides, i. 10. 3: τῇ Ὀμήρου ποιήσει; compare Plato, *Ion* 531 D. Lucilius distinguishes *ποίησις* and *ποίημα* thus (lines 300—4 of Lachmann's text):

pars est parva poema, poema epigrammation vel  
distichum, epistula item quaevis non magna poema est.  
illa poesis opus totum, tota Ilias una est,  
una θέσις sunt annales Enni atque ἔπος unum,  
et maius multo est quam quod dixi ante poema.

well is in no sense a consequence of the nature of his subject. Nor does it sum up; on the contrary it follows a general and introduces a particular statement. Nor, again, is it a particle of resumption, since ἡ ποίησις is the subject of the preceding sentence. There is no fourth use of οὖν.

Thus Welcker's argument is tainted at the source. Ignoring or misunderstanding οὖν, he inferred from the words of Xenophon that the poem which begins with κριὸς μὲν καὶ ὄνους held the first place in that text of Theognis which Xenophon knew. Such a beginning would be almost intolerably abrupt. Since there is a flaw in Welcker's premises and no charm about his conclusion, we must not acquiesce in his reasoning if a better explanation of the words of Xenophon can be found<sup>1</sup>.

To Dr Verrall I owe the following attempt to solve these difficulties and permission to give it here in his own words.

"The inference drawn from the passage of Stobaeus, that the book known to Xenophon as 'the poetry of Theognis' differed, and differed widely, from the 'Theognis' transmitted to us, is based upon a misunderstanding. It requires us to put upon the words ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ποιήσεως, as here used by Xenophon, a sense not only unnecessary, but inconsistent with the context. 'The beginning of the ποίησις', he says, is satisfactory, for 'it begins' (or 'the poet begins') with good birth, upon the ground that men cannot be good unless their birth and parentage are what they ought to be; that is a primary condition. Welcker assumes that by 'the beginning of the ποίησις' is meant the commencement or first words of the book *Theognis*; and since the passage in praise of εὐγένεια, which Xenophon proceeds to cite in illustration, is found not at the commencement, nor anywhere near it, in our book, he infers that Xenophon's book was different.

"But the remark about 'the beginning of the ποίησις' follows immediately upon the observation, that the poetry

<sup>1</sup> But all that is necessary for my purpose is to shew that the received view cannot be held. See also Appendix I.

of Theognis is occupied wholly with morals and may be described as 'a treatise about men, comparable to a treatise on horse-training (*περὶ ἵππικῆς*) by a person experienced in horses'—in short, that it is a sort of manual of human education. The one sentence is actually linked to the other by a 'then' (*οὖν*). And even if it were not so linked, we must suppose some connexion between them. We could not suppose that the peculiar, and perhaps somewhat forced, comparison of the poetical moralist to a writer on education is taken up only to be dropped, and has no bearing on the remark appended to it. Yet what bearing can it have, if we construe that remark to mean that Xenophon approves the first lines or opening passage of the book? The beginning, in this sense, is no more noticeable or important in a treatise on education than in any other composition; and the connexion indicated would thus altogether fail. To justify it, we should find for *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ποιήσεως* some meaning specially connected with the educational function of poets and poetry; nor is this difficult to find.

"The object of arts in general is *ποίησις*, the *making* of something; and it is so with the art of morals, teaching, training or education; that which the moralist or educator *makes* is the good man or good citizen (*ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ, ἄνθρωπος, πολίτης*). These conceptions, commonplaces in speculation of the fifth and fourth centuries, were naturally applied to poets and poetry, which the Greeks were accustomed to criticize especially in respect of moral and educational influence. Thus applied, they naturally, or rather necessarily, drew attention to the suggestive meaning of the words *ποιητής* (*poet*) and *ποίησις* (*poetry*) themselves, which seemed actually to connote the educational function of the *poet* as a *maker* of good citizens and good men. Before the end of the fifth century, this train of thought and language was already familiar, fixed, and classical, if we may judge by the way in which it is introduced by Aristophanes in the *Frogs* (1088 foll.)<sup>1</sup>. 'What' asks Aeschylus, 'is the proper ground for

<sup>1</sup> In Plato's *Symposium*, 196 D—197 A, there is a twofold play upon *ποιητής*, which may be quoted here as shewing how easily the word lent itself to this



admiring a poet?' 'That we *make* the men in our cities better' replies Euripides promptly. 'And if' rejoins Aeschylus, pursuing the equivocation, 'your *making* did not *effect* this, but the contrary—what then?'

AI. ἀπόκριναί μοι, τίνος οὐνεκα χρή θαυμάζειν ἄνδρα ποιητήν;

ET. δεξιότητος καὶ νουθεσίας, ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιοῦμεν  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

AI. τοῦτ' οὖν εἰ μὴ πεποίηκας,  
ἀλλ' ἐκ χρηστῶν καὶ γενναίων μοχθηροτάτους ἀπέδειξας,  
τί παθεῖν φήσεις ἄξιος εἶναι;

"In language similar to this, we should presume, Xenophon, in the passage from which the fragment is broken, has been speaking of Theognis and his *poetry*, observing that he in particular, being occupied wholly with matters of virtue and vice, may be considered as a *maker* in the special sense, a *maker of men*, and his work as a manual of such art or *making*, like the directions of a horse-trainer for making good horses. 'The beginning then' he continues, 'of the *making*', that is to say, the starting-point and primary condition of the process, 'I find to be satisfactory; for the maker'—or 'the process', it matters not which—'begins with good birth, as a primary condition'. In the *making* of a man, birth is of course the beginning; and the comparison of the poet-moralist to an artist, maker, or manufacturer, explains at once why stress should be laid upon the 'beginning', since a process of manufacture, if wrong there, could never be right at all.

"Even in the fragment this connexion of thought is sufficiently visible. We may note how the link between the *ποιητής* and the *ποίησις* is kept up by the word *πεποιήται*.

kind of pun. The poet Agathon is speaking about Love. περὶ μὲν οὖν δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρηται, περὶ δὲ σοφίας λείπεται· ὅσον οὖν δυνατόν, πειρατέον μὴ ἐλλείπειν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ἔν' αὐ καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἡμετέραν τέχνην τιμῶω ὥσπερ Ἑρμύμαχος τὴν αὐτοῦ, ποιητῆς ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον ποιῆσαι· πᾶς γοῦν ποιητῆς γίγνεται, κἀν ἄμους ἢ τὸ πρῶν, οὐδ' ἂν Ἑρως ᾤρηται. ὦ δὴ πρέπει ἡμᾶς μαρτυρίῃ χρῆσθαι, ὅτι ποιητῆς ὁ Ἑρως ἀγαθὸς ἐν κεφαλῇ πᾶσαν ποίησιν τὴν κατὰ μουσικὴν· ἃ γὰρ τις ἢ μὴ ἔχει ἢ μὴ οἶδεν, οὐτ' ἂν ἐτέρῳ δοίη οὐτ' ἂν ἄλλον διδάξειεν. καὶ μὲν δὴ τὴν γε τῶν ζώων ποίησιν πάντων τίς ἐναντιώσεται μὴ οὐχὶ Ἑρως εἶναι σοφίαν, ἣ γίγνεται τε καὶ φύεται πάντα τὰ ζῷα;

And we may fairly suppose, since the citation begins in the middle of a sentence, that the connexion and point would be even plainer, if we had the whole. At all events the possibility, if it were no more, of thus explaining the fragment relieves us from the necessity of importing an explanation contradicted by the traditional form of *Theognis* as a book, and thus deprives the fragment of all weight as an argument that this traditional form is not correct and authentic."

Apart from the words *σύγγραμμα* and *τῆς ποιήσεως* there remains in the first part of the passage of Stobaeus, that is the part which precedes the actual quotation of the poem, nothing unworthy of Xenophon. The style is good, and the syntax shews no fault. But nowhere else is an essay *περὶ Θεόγνιδος* ascribed to Xenophon. Hence some have thought the word *Ξενοφώντος* a mistake, due perhaps to carelessness on the part of Stobaeus, for *Ἀντισθένης*. Diogenes Laertius, vi. 15—16, gives a catalogue of the writings of Antisthenes:

...τόμοι δέκα...τόμος δεύτερος ἐν ᾧ περὶ ζῶων φύσεως, περὶ παιδοποιίας ἢ περὶ γάμου ἐρωτικός, περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν φυσιογνωμονικός, περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας προτρεπτικός πρῶτος, δεύτερος, τρίτος, περὶ Θεόγνιδος δ' ἐ' τόμος τρίτος ἐν ᾧ κτλ.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Antisthenes wrote a work *On Justice and Manliness* in five books, of which the last two had the title *περὶ Θεόγνιδος*. Doubtless the pessimism of Theognis attracted the founder of the Cynic school. But is the passage given by Stobaeus likely to come from Antisthenes? Our knowledge of his doctrines is not complete, but *εὐγένεια* was certainly not one of the qualities which he prized. "Déjà pour Antisthène," says A. Croiset<sup>2</sup>, "comme plus tard pour les Stoïciens, l'humanité se divise en deux classes; les sages, c'est-à-dire

<sup>1</sup> Later on in the list comes a book called *Κῦρος ἢ ἐρώμενος*, where *Κῦρος* has been proposed in place of *Κῦρος*, which the manuscripts of Diogenes give as the title of no less than four treatises of Antisthenes.

<sup>2</sup> iv. p. 251.

les rares adeptes de la doctrine, et les fous, qui forment l'immense majorité." Probably he regarded *εὐγένεια* at best as an *ἀδιάφορον*, to use the Stoic term, though perhaps an *ἀδιάφορον προηγμένον*. Thus Antisthenes is not likely to have written the words *ἡ οὖν ἀρχὴ...ἀγαθὰ εἴη*, unless indeed his two books *περὶ Θεόγνιδος* were in the form of a dialogue, and this a view put forward by one of the speakers, to be refuted by his opponent. There is therefore neither external nor internal evidence to shew that Antisthenes wrote this passage, and the ascription of it to him is nothing more than an unlikely guess. On the other hand many scholars have followed Stobaeus in giving it to Xenophon. We do not seem to have any precise catalogue of Xenophon's writings; and in Diogenes Laertius, ii. 56, *συνέγραψε δὲ βιβλία πρὸς τὰ τετταράκοντα* ("about forty in all"), *ἄλλων ἄλλως διαιρούντων*, both *πρὸς* and the last three words leave room for lost works. C. G. Cobet says<sup>1</sup>: "Xenophon Theognidis interpretem agere et commentarios in Theognidem edere non potuit. Theognidis illustrem aliquem locum vel ex Socratis vel ex sua persona copiosius enarrare potuit: unde suspicimus locum illum ex Memorabilibus (ut quae Xenophon, uti constat, multis partibus auctiora ediderit, quam nunc habemus) esse desumptum et pertinuisse ad disputationem aliquam de Nobilitate: hanc interpretationem locus ipse mirifice adjuvat: et lemmatibus Stobaei quam nihil auctoritatis sit tribuendum, constat inter omnes." The negative of the Dutch scholar's first sentence would be hard to prove; but his suspicion as to the nature if not the place of Xenophon's *περὶ Θεόγνιδος* is very likely right. What we should expect from Xenophon is not an essay in literary criticism, but an essay or perhaps a dialogue of an ethical or sociological character, written round these lines of Theognis just as a large part of the *Protagoras* is written round a poem of Simonides. To such a piece the title *περὶ Θεόγνιδος* would be appropriate, just as the third part of the *Protagoras*, had it stood alone, might have been called *περὶ Σιμωνίδου*. Very likely Xenophon would have

<sup>1</sup> *Commentatio qua continetur Prosopographia Xenophontea*, p. 10, n. 13.

begun his essay with general remarks before introducing his quotation; in which case the extract given by Stobaeus begins at the point where Xenophon first mentions the poet's name.

A long defence of Xenophon's claims is to be found in an essay entitled *Xenophon über Theognis und das Problem des Adels*, by Otto Immisch<sup>1</sup>. After a careful review of the opinions of the Greek philosophers about εὐγένεια, he decides without hesitation that the passage in Stobaeus comes from the hand of Xenophon. He proceeds to shew that its tone is polemic. Two interpretations of the lines of Theognis are given, and one, according to which Theognis was merely denouncing avarice, is rejected. Nobody was more likely to hold this opinion, he thinks, than Antisthenes, the bitter enemy of wealth; and it may have been maintained in his book on Theognis. Immisch then looks for the reason why Xenophon's treatise disappeared. Perhaps he published it anonymously because of his relations with his opponent Antisthenes. Besides the passage in Stobaeus there is at least one other trace of the book. An essay on Theognis would naturally speak of παιδεραστία. Now in Lucian's Ἐρωτες<sup>2</sup> some lines of Callimachus are quoted in immediate connexion with Socrates and the Socratics:—αἶ γε μὴν Σωκρατικαὶ διδασκαλῖαι...Σωκράτης...δεῖ δὲ τῶν νέων ἐρᾶν ὡς Ἀλκιβιάδου Σωκράτης...καὶ ἔγωγε τὸ Καλλιμάχειον ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν λόγων ἥδιστα προσθείην ἂν ἅπασιν κήρυγμα·

αἶθε γάρ, ὦ κούροισιν ἐπ' ὄμματα λίχνα φέροντες,

Ἐρχίος ὡς ὑμῖν ὤρισε παιδοφιλεῖν,

ὥδε νέων ἐράοιτε· πόλιν κ' εὐάνδρον ἔχοιτε.

This has been referred to Xenophon, who was of the deme Herchia<sup>3</sup>; and the expression ὤρισε παιδοφιλεῖν fits better a systematic treatment of the subject than such casual references to it as occur in the *Symposion*.

It may be remarked, however, that Immisch's reason for

<sup>1</sup> In the *Commentationes philologiae quibus Ottoni Ribbeckio...sexagesimum aetatis...annum exactum congratulantur discipuli Lipsienses*.

<sup>2</sup> 48—49.

<sup>3</sup> See Schneider on Callimachus, fragment 107.

thinking Xenophon's treatise polemic is drawn from the *end* of the passage in Stobaeus. But the end, from *ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη* to *περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν βίον*, is so full of faults that it is all but impossible to regard it as the work of Xenophon. Of these faults Immisch takes no notice.

To begin with, *πολυχρημοσύνη*, the reading of all but two manuscripts of Stobaeus, is found nowhere but in Pollux<sup>1</sup>, who gives it in a list of words connected with wealth, next to *πολυχρηματία*, which is used by Xenophon<sup>2</sup> with the meaning "wealth." If *πολυχρημοσύνη* is genuine in our passage it must have been intended to mean "avarice"; for no man, being of sound mind, could have said that the lines of Theognis accused men of wealth. But *πολυχρημοσύνη* naturally means "abundance of possessions," and cannot mean "avarice." The manuscripts A and B of Stobaeus, followed by Gaisford, read *πολυπραγμοσύνη*; but this is even less satisfactory. *πολυπραγμοσύνη* and *πολυπράγμων* mean regularly "meddlesomeness" and "busybody"; and even if *πράγματα* meant "property," which it does not, *πολυπραγμοσύνη* like *πολυχρημοσύνη* would necessarily mean "wealth," not "avarice." Thus neither word is satisfactory. We might suppose corruption in the text—Bergk would emend to *φιλοχρημοσύνην*—were not the rest of the passage written so ill. If the sentence in which *πολυχρημοσύνην* stands is grammatical, we must suppose an abrupt change of subject, *τὸν ποιητὴν* being the subject of *κατηγορεῖν*, and *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, supplied from *τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, the subject of *ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι*. Further, the words *γίγνεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων κάκιον αἰεὶ μινύμενον τὸ χεῖρον τῷ βελτίονι* are not strictly grammatical: "the breed of men deteriorates by constant mixture—the worse with the better." Again, the use of the dative *τῷ βελτίονι* is questionable, to say the least. Add the strange use of *ἐκ* in *ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν οἴονται*; and the careless construction (though it may perhaps appear now and then in good writers) of *ἀντὶ χρημάτων ἀγέειαν καὶ κακίαν ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι*, which must be translated "to *balance* low

<sup>1</sup> iii. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Symposion* iv. 42.

birth and bad character against money," "to regard money as a compensation for low birth and bad character," where is no notion of *exchange* properly so called. None of these faults, except the wrong use of *πολυχρημοσύνην* or *πολυπραγμοσύνην*, is bad enough by itself to condemn the writer; but taken together they are a convincing proof that he could not write good Greek. It is hard to believe that the man who made these blunders can have written the sentences which precede the quotation. But the condemnation need not be extended to them if we suppose that after the lines of Theognis Stobaeus added another criticism of them from another source, perhaps from one of the *scholasticorum natio* endowed with unusually little intelligence or style. The sources of Stobaeus are not well known, but it is generally agreed that he made large use of earlier anthologies; and while he was not likely to give Xenophon's name to a passage with intent to deceive, he may have joined together two independent criticisms by accident. However, it does not much matter where the second part came from, for it adds nothing to the first part which can be of service to us in deciding what form of Theognis Xenophon knew<sup>1</sup>.

DIO CHRYSOSTOMUS, *or.* ii. *ad init.*

Dio of Prusa, who was born about A.D. 40, begins his *περὶ βασιλείας β'* with a story of Alexander the Great, who, being asked by Philip why he read no poet but Homer, replied :

<sup>1</sup> Sitzler's view of the passage in Stobaeus is worthy of mention here. He thinks that *ἀρχή* is used with reference to its philosophical sense, "first principle," "element." But there can be no real analogy between water (for instance) regarded as the "element" from which all other forms of matter are derived, and good birth regarded as a necessary quality among the many qualities which make up the character of the *ἀγαθός*. Moreover, as G. Kaibel (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1880, p. 58) has pointed out, even if *ἀρχή* could mean "first principle" here, *ἀρχεται πρῶτον* could not mean "he takes as first principle."

Sitzler has another objection to regarding Xenophon as the author of the passage. "Nonne praeterea Xenophon in Commentariis (iv. 4. 22) aliter de nobilitate sentit atque auctor loci, quem Stobaeus excerpit?" To dispose of this objection it will suffice to read the passage to which he refers.

τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ποιήματα, ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι, τὰ μὲν συμποτικά αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ἐγκώμια ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἵππων νικῶντων, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι θρήνους, τὰ δὲ γέλωτος ἔνεκεν ἡ λαιδορίας πεποιημένα, ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν κωμωδοδιδασκάλων καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παρίου ποιητοῦ· ἴσως δέ τινα αὐτῶν καὶ δημοτικά λέγοιτ' ἄν, συμβουλευόντα καὶ παραινοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις, καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ Φωκυλίδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος· ἀφ' ὧν τί ἂν ὠφελήθῃναι δύναίτο ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν ὅμοιος;

"As for other poems, some of them, I take it, are drinking-songs, some love-songs, some praises of successful athletes or horses, some dirges for the dead; some are written in a spirit of mockery or abuse, like the plays of the comic poets or the poems of Archilochus; and some perhaps might even be called plebeian, giving counsel and advice to the general, just as Phocylides and Theognis did, I suppose. What good could men like us get from all this?"

A glance at fragments 5 and 12 of Phocylides and at lines 33—4, 129—30, 215—6 of Theognis will shew that Alexander was right. Who less likely than Alexander to desire a tiny town on a rock, or the middle place in a city; who less likely to play the polypus? Phocylides and Theognis speak as men of the world, and have little concern with the grand passions. Similarly the writer of comedy or of satire, an Aristophanes or a Juvenal, is by profession at war with all that is extravagant or sublime; his teaching addresses itself to the middle class of mind. But though the vulgar character of their teaching is the only charge that Alexander brings against Phocylides and Theognis, it is absurd to infer from Dio's words that Alexander or whoever put these sentiments into Alexander's mouth found nothing in Theognis like the other poems which he rejects. We must not even assume that Alexander's copy of Theognis did not contain the second book, much less<sup>1</sup> that it could not have included such a poem as lines 993—6.

<sup>1</sup> As Welcker does (p. lxxv).

ATHENAEUS, vii. p. 310 A, B.

In the first half of the third century Athenaeus wrote his *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, in which he mentions Theognis thus: *περὶ τούτων φησὶν Ἀρχέστρατος, ὁ τῶν ὀψοφάγων Ἡσίοδος ἢ Θεόγνις. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Θεόγνις περὶ ἡδυπάθειαν, ὥς αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ φησὶ διὰ τούτων*<sup>1</sup>.

τῆμος δ' ἥελιος μὲν ἐν αἰθέρι μώνυχας ἵππους  
 ἄρτι παραγγέλλοι μέσσατον ἡμαρ ἔχων,  
 δείπνου δὴ λήγοιμεν ὅσου τινὰ θύμος ἀνώγοι  
 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι.  
 χέρνιβα δ' αἰψα θύραζε φέροι στεφανώματα δ' εἰσω  
 εὐειδῆς ῥαδινηὴς χερσὶ Λάκαινα κόρη.  
 οὐδὲ τὸ παιδεραστεῖν ἀπαναίνεται ὁ σοφὸς οὗτος· λέγει γοῦν<sup>2</sup>.  
 εἰ τ' εἴησα καλὴν μὲν ἐφίμερον ὕμνον αἰεῖδεν,  
 ἄθλον δ' ἐν μέσσω παῖς καλὸς ἄνθος ἔχων  
 σοὶ τ' εἴη καὶ ἐμοὶ σοφίης πέρι δηριόωσι,  
 γνοίης τόσσον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι.

"Athenaeus too," says Welcker<sup>3</sup>, "is on our side. For although some trifles by other hands had made their way even then into the text of Theognis, and coalesced with the genuine poems, yet the book must have been very different from its present form, seeing that Athenaeus, who often takes pains to throw light on all the blots which stain the characters and the writings of great men, seems to have found nothing to fasten upon in Theognis except these two passages." But, as K. Müller very justly remarks<sup>4</sup>, Athenaeus could not have found anything else to his purpose in our text; that is, if we except the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, which he probably did not know or did not know as the work of Theognis, or he would hardly have used *γοῦν*, "at least," as he does. And to one who did not know the *Μοῦσα παιδική* it was natural to put the more charitable construction upon the passages where Theognis uses the words *φίλος*, *φιλία*, *φιλεῖν* of himself and Cynus.

<sup>1</sup> 997—1002.<sup>2</sup> P. lxxvi.<sup>3</sup> 993—6.<sup>4</sup> P. 36.



Neither Müller, however, nor any one else seems to have seen exactly what Athenaeus means. "In hac nostra sylloga quid tandem inest," asks Müller, "quod melius probet, Theognidem fuisse et intemperantem in potando et venereo puerorum amoris deditum?" But it is not with drinking or with *παιδεραστία* that Athenaeus is primarily concerned. His seventh book is a catalogue of various kinds of fish, arranged in alphabetical order, with illustrations from passages of Greek literature. Under the heading ΚΤΩΝ ΚΑΡΧΑΡΙΑΣ he is about to quote from Archestratus, and pauses to call him "the gourmet's Hesiod or Theognis" for no better purpose than to drag in a mention of good food from the poems of Theognis. *ἡδυνάθεια* and the cognate words seem always to refer to luxury rather than excess, and to meat rather than drink. It is with food, not with venereal lust or even with drink, that Athenaeus is chiefly concerned in this place; and accordingly he quotes the one and only poem in which Theognis speaks of the pleasure of eating—*παντοίων ἀγαθῶν γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι*. Though Athenaeus might have quoted several poems to shew that Theognis indulged in wine, he could not have added a second mention of good food<sup>1</sup>.

But, it may be urged, if this was his purpose why does Athenaeus proceed to charge Theognis with *παιδεραστία*, a vice which has no connexion with eating? Simply because he would not waste his material. Having to do with lines 997—1002, he cannot refrain from making use of the adjacent lines as well, even at the price of inconsequence. Whether he had actually read Theognis, or knew him only in excerpts, is a doubtful point; but even if he got lines 997—1002 from an excerpt, it is quite likely that the preceding lines were joined with them<sup>2</sup>.

It is to be observed that though he knows lines 993—1002 Athenaeus is still able to couple Theognis with Hesiod. His

<sup>1</sup> In 722 Theognis speaks only of the necessary minimum of food for a comfortable life. In 1009 εὖ πασχόμεν includes more than food.

<sup>2</sup> Later an attempt will be made to shew that 993—6 and 997—1002 are one poem.

comparison of Arcestratus with Hesiod and Theognis (which may be put in the form: As Arcestratus is to the gourmet, so is Hesiod or Theognis to the man) shews that he regarded the poems of Theognis as a repository of useful teaching. If Athenaeus could think the lines which he quotes outweighed by the larger number of the *γνώμαι*, may not Xenophon and Isocrates have thought the same?

#### JULIAN AND CYRIL.

In A.D. 362 or 363 the Emperor Julian wrote an attack on Christianity in three books. Cyril of Alexandria, who was born about 380 and died in 444, wrote a refutation of Julian in thirty books, of which the first ten, a criticism of Julian's first book, have survived. The passages which deal with Theognis are as follows<sup>1</sup>.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ. ὁ σοφώτατος Σαλομὼν παρόμοιός ἐστι τῷ παρ' Ἑλλήσι Φωκυλίδῃ, ἢ Θεόγνιδι, ἢ Ἰσοκράτει; πόθεν; εἰ γοῦν παραβάλοις τὰς Ἰσοκράτους παραινέσεις ταῖς ἐκείνου παροιμίαις, εὖροις ἂν, εὖ οἶδα, τὸν τοῦ Θεοδώρου κρείττονα τοῦ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος, φασί, περὶ θεουργίαν ἤσκητο. τί οὖν; οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ Σαλομὼν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐλάτρευσε θεοῖς, ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς λέγουσιν ἐξαπατηθείς; ὃ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς· ὃ σοφίας πλούτος. οὐ περιγέγονεν ἡδονῆς, καὶ γυναικὸς λόγοι τοῦτον παρήγαγον.

Cyril in reply admits the charge which the emperor brings against Solomon, and goes on: εἰ δὲ παρώλισθέ τις ἐξ ἡδονῆς ἐφ' ἃ μὴ προσῆκε, μὴ πλατὺ γελάτω καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ κατήγορος· διενθυμείσθω δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς οὔτε προφήταις ἀγίοις, οὔτε μὴν ἀποστόλοις ἢ εὐαγγελισταῖς, ἐναρίθμιον αὐτὸν ποιῆσθαι κατειθίσμεθα. Phocylides and Theognis, he says, wrote *χρηστομαθῆ*, *ψιλὰ καὶ κεκομψευμένα*, ὅποιά περ ἂν καὶ τίτθαι κορίοις, καὶ μὴν καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ φαῖεν ἂν νουθετοῦντες τὰ *μειράκια*. He also says that they were born in the fifty-eighth Olympiad, long after Solomon, who lived before Homer. He makes no mention of the *μαίρια* of Theognis; whence Welcker argues that there can have

<sup>1</sup> Aubert's edition of Cyril, vol. vii. pp. 224—5 (*contra Julianum*, book vii.).

been none in his text<sup>1</sup>. Such arguments from a writer's silence seldom amount to much; and in this case, always excepting the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, what does our text of Theognis present which Cyril could have retorted upon Julian? There is very little in the first book on which a good construction may not fairly be put. Even of the two poems on which Athenaeus fixes one has no vice in it unless one comes prepared to find vice. Such weak evidence as this would not be enough for Cyril, who knew how to make the best of his case. He prefers safer ground. He chooses a greater man than Phocylides or Theognis, and brings a counter charge against Socrates. And indeed he must have been very ill acquainted with Theognis in any form<sup>2</sup>, or he could never have called his poems "such stuff as nurses tell their charges." That is not at all the character of Theognis, whose teaching is throughout a very mature kind of worldly wisdom<sup>3</sup>. If Theognis were to be made fit for the nursery, changes would be needed more sweeping even than Welcker's.

#### STOBAEUS.

From literature we must now turn to anthologies and lexicons. Stobaeus, who lived in the fifth or sixth century, quotes nearly two hundred lines of Theognis, all but eight of which appear in our manuscripts. The question of the relation in which Stobaeus stands to our manuscripts of Theognis belongs to the details of textual criticism; for though it has sometimes been denied, it is now commonly agreed, that Stobaeus, or the earlier compilers from whom he drew, knew no form of Theognis but ours. As for the eight lines, they may have fallen out from our manuscripts by

<sup>1</sup> P. lxxiii: "hic vero scriptor Theognidi, si obscoena aderant carmina, amoris infamiam profecto objecturus fuisset."

<sup>2</sup> E. Hiller calls Cyril "ein in der classischen litteratur ganz unwissender mensch." Probably he had never read Theognis. (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 468.)

<sup>3</sup> "Theognis's doctrine is not food for babes," says Professor G. Murray (*Greek Literature*, p. 83).

simple omission<sup>1</sup>; but more probably the first book was originally longer than it is now, and these lines came in the lost end.

## SUIDAS AND EUDOCIA.

At last in the lexicon of Suidas, which was compiled about the middle of the tenth century<sup>2</sup>, we get a biographical note on Theognis<sup>3</sup>.

Θέογνις, Μεγαρεὺς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγάρων, γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ νθ' ὀλυμπιάδι. ἔγραψεν Ἑλεγείαν<sup>4</sup> εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, Γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας εἰς ἔπη<sup>5</sup> βώ', καὶ πρὸς Κύρνον, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον, Γνωμολογίαν δι' ἐλεγείων, καὶ ἑτέρας Ὑποθήκας παραινετικὰς· τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς<sup>6</sup>. Ὅτι μὲν παραινέσεις<sup>7</sup> ἔγραψε Θεόγνις· ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων παρεσπαρμέναι μαρταί<sup>8</sup> καὶ παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα ὁ ἐνάρητος ἀποστρέφεται βίος.

This article has been much discussed, and attempts have been made to restore the language of the lexicographer's authority (perhaps Hesychios of Miletos), chiefly by comparing this note with two notes on Theognis in the *Ἰωνιά* which bears the name of the empress Eudokia Makrembolitissa, wife of Konstantinos Dukas, who reigned from 1059 to 1067. But unfortunately it is now generally agreed, after much debate, that the *Bed of Violets* is a forgery of the sixteenth century. This is what K. Krumbacher says about it<sup>9</sup>. "Not the slightest doubt now remains that the *Ἰωνιά* was compiled about 1543 by the Greek Konstantinos Palaio-kappa, from various sources, for the most part very trivial.

<sup>1</sup> This has certainly happened in the case of lines 1157—8, which are necessary to the following couplet, with which they are joined in Stobaeus.

<sup>2</sup> See K. Krumbacher's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*), p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> Bernhardt's text is given.

<sup>4</sup> Two manuscripts have ἑλεγεία.

<sup>5</sup> Two manuscripts have ὡς ἔπη.

<sup>6</sup> One manuscript has ἐπιεικῶς.

<sup>7</sup> So four manuscripts; the rest have καὶ παραινέσεις μὲν.

<sup>8</sup> There is no authority for μαρταί.

<sup>9</sup> As before, p. 275.

Nearly half of the work is copied from the Phavorinus printed at Basel in 1538. For the rest, the chief source of the biographical articles is Suidas, he too probably not in a manuscript but in the edition of 1514; besides which the compiler used the Basel edition of Palaephatus and Cornutus, published in 1543; and lastly Nonnos' commentary on four speeches of Gregory of Nazianzos." Thus the notes on Theognis must be presumed to come direct from Suidas. They will be quoted here only to shew how far such scrappy notes as Suidas gives could be mutilated in transcription, and to serve as a caution against giving too much credit to Suidas himself, whose note looks like just such another clumsy copy of older stuff.

Θεόγνις, εἰς ἣν τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τυράννων, καθάπερ φασὶν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἑλληνικῶν. καὶ Θεόγνις ἕτερος Μεγαρεὺς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγάρων, γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ ἐνάτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας εἰς ἔπη δισχίλια ὀκτακόσια. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ γνώμας παραινετικάς. ἦν δὲ καὶ Θεόγνις τραγωδοποιητὴς πάνυ ψυχρὸς, ὃς καὶ Χιὼν ἐλέγετο. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποιητὴς Μεγαρεὺς, ἄλλος τις Θεόγνις.

Θεόγνις, Μεγαρεὺς ἐκ Σικελίας. ἔγραψε γνώμας· ἐλεγείας εἰς ἔπη βω'· καὶ πρὸς Κύρνον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον γνωμολογίαν δι' ἐλεγείων, καὶ ἑτέρας ὑποθήκας παραινετικάς· πάντα ἐπικῶς. καὶ ἕτερος Θεόγνις τραγωδοποιός.

It is evident that the language of Suidas is too confused to prove anything by itself; it can only be used in corroboration of conclusions drawn from elsewhere. His note may be a combination of two such notes as these:

I. Θεόγνις, Μεγαρεὺς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγάρων, γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ νθ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἔγραψεν Ἑλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ· Γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας, εἰς ἔπη βω'.

"Theognis, a Megarian of the Sicilian Megara, γέγονεν in the 59th Olympiad. Wrote (1) an Elegy on the Syracusans

who were saved in the siege ; (2) Gnomes in elegiacs, to the number of 2800 lines."

II. *Θεόγνις.... ἔγραψε πρὸς Κύρνον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον Γνωμολογίαν δι' ἐλεγείων, καὶ ἑτέρας ὑποθήκας παραινετικάς.* (This note also may have mentioned the Syracusan elegy.) *τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς.*

"Theognis.... Wrote a Gnomology in elegiacs to Cynus his favourite, and other exhortatory precepts. All *ἐπικῶς*."

This is only one of many possible arrangements. But note at least that the language of Suidas is rather that of descriptions than of titles. See especially *καὶ ἑτέρας ὑποθήκας παραινετικάς*. It cannot be inferred from this that *ὑποθήκαι παραινετικάί* was a *title* of part of Theognis' poems. If it had been, *ἑτέρας* would not have been added. In order to express the fact that a poet wrote a *Γνωμολογία* and also *Ῥποθήκαι*, Suidas would not have said (though Thucydides might) that "he wrote a *Γνωμολογία* and other *Ῥποθήκαι* as well."

The number 2800 was evidently the total of some part or the whole of Theognis. Now the text as we have it consists of 1430 lines. To this number something must be added on account of loss at the end of the first book, since it is not likely that the manuscripts are deficient by just the ten lines which are supplied from Stobaeus and Athenaeus; and perhaps a good deal more for accidental omissions, to which a set of short poems, many of them very like one another in language, would be peculiarly subject. But even with these additions we could scarcely get as many as 2000 lines; and 800 lines seems far too many for the Syracusan elegy. More probably 2800 is a *doubling* of two totals, identical or nearly identical, that is to say each 1400 or about 1400. The words *πρὸς Κύρνον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον* do not themselves convey censure; and they do not necessarily or even probably refer to the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, where in fact Cynus' name occurs only once. The first book at present contains 1268 lines; and if we add to this on account of omissions, 1400 would probably not be much, if any, too large a number.

Thus it is at least possible that the authority or authorities

of Suidas knew no elegiac poems of Theognis except our first book and the Syracusan elegy, having seen the former and heard of the latter. The words *ὅτι μὲν παραινέσεις κτλ.* were added doubtless by Suidas himself; and in fact the words *μιαρός* and *ἐνάπετος* reappear in other similar criticisms which seem to come from his hand<sup>1</sup>. It may be that his condemnation of Theognis was due to an acquaintance with the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, which exists only in the *Mutinensis*, a manuscript of the tenth century. If the *Μοῦσα παιδική* had come to light not long before the *Mutinensis* was written, this fact may have given it a notoriety in Suidas' time, just as to-day every Greek scholar is familiar with Bacchylides. But the *παρ-* of *παρεσπαρμέναι* rather suggests that Suidas was thinking of poems scattered here and there in the first book, though acquaintance with the second may have coloured his interpretation of them.

The words *τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς* have never yet been explained. It is easy, but not wise, to shirk the question by reading *ἡθικῶς* or *ἐλεγειακῶς*. G. F. Schömann<sup>2</sup> conjectures *εἰς ἔπη βωσ'* (2806), which is accepted by K. Müller; and other scholars also have thought that the letters *-κῶς* conceal a number. The change is not great, for the interchange of the homophones<sup>3</sup> *ι* and *η* is a very common cause of corruption, and *κ* and *β* are confused in minuscule script. But if *βωσ'* is read we have two numbers 2800 and 2806, differing by 6. What does this difference represent? The Syracusan elegy, or what? Schömann does not explain, and no reasonable explanation is forthcoming. May it be suggested that *ἐπικῶς* has here a meaning which seems intrinsically possible, though it does not seem to be recognised—the meaning "in the epic dialect"? This seems to be the only sense in which the word *ἐπικά* can stand in Suidas' note on Pindar<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Nietzsche, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1867, pp. 189—90.

<sup>2</sup> *Schediasma de Theognide*, p. 4, note (*Opuscula Academica*, iv. p. 24, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> How far they were homophones in Suidas' time is shewn by the fact that he puts words beginning with *ει* and *η* after words beginning with *ζ*.

<sup>4</sup> Since, if a suitable meaning can be found for *ἐπικῶς*, a difficulty is removed and the conjectures of Schömann and others are proved to be needless, I have examined this question in Appendix II.

Before we leave Suidas yet another point must be noticed. Reitzenstein<sup>1</sup> has observed that in the note of Suidas, while some classes of Theognis' poetry are expressly described as elegiac, to one class no indication of its metre is added. Ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, Γνώμας δι' ἐλεγείας εἰς ἔπη βω', καὶ πρὸς Κύρνον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον Γνωμολογίαν δι' ἐλεγείων, καὶ ἑτέρας Ὑποθήκας παραινετικές· τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς. This implies that what Suidas calls ἑτέρας Ὑποθήκας παραινετικές were not in elegiacs: "else any one but a thoroughly silly writer would have put τὰ πάντα δι' ἐλεγείων once and for all." Reitzenstein suggests that they were in hexameters or iambics or both. This would confirm the inference drawn above from the passage of the *Meno*, that non-elegiac poems of Theognis once existed and were known to Plato. However, the note of Suidas is so confused that this confirmation cannot be trusted. Suidas, if we are to judge him from the present state of his lexicon, often acted very like "a thoroughly silly writer." Moreover Reitzenstein does not remove all the difficulties. If Suidas had meant to imply what Reitzenstein supposes, how could he have added τὰ πάντα ἐπικῶς? It is hard to see how elegiacs and hexameters, still harder how elegiacs, hexameters and iambics, could all be comprised under ἐπικῶς if it refers to metre; for though ἔπος may mean any kind of verse, as in the passage of the *Meno*, ἐπικῶς referring to metre can mean only one. Thus we are still forced to give ἐπικῶς some other meaning.

With Suidas and Eudocia we pass the date of our best manuscript, and we come to the end of the external evidence. The aim of the foregoing pages has been to refute the inferences of Welcker, Bergk and others, and to shew that the evidence of Greek literature does not imply that any Greek writer who mentions Theognis knew him in any other form than ours. How far we should be from any sure knowledge, even if much that has been wrongly inferred were accepted, is shewn by the widely different guesses which

<sup>1</sup> P. 54.



have been made concerning the date at which the supposed compiler of our collection did his work. Bergk<sup>1</sup> thinks not long after the time of Isocrates, while Nietzsche<sup>2</sup> holds that "our edition must have been produced after Cyril, that is after the year 433." Other dates have pleased other scholars. How does this discrepancy come about? Because one critic forces a remark of Plato or Isocrates, another a remark of Athenaeus or Cyril. But the passages of Plato and Xenophon of which so much has been made have been found to be not incompatible with our text. Other passages commonly quoted in this connexion make against our text only if the vicious element in the first book is magnified; for if the second book be set aside there is nothing in Theognis whereby the poet can be convicted of immoral relations with Cyrnus. Such language as we read in lines 87, 101, 371, 597 may fairly be referred to an honourable friendship between a man and a youth. Only the presence of the *Μοῦσα παιδική* makes it natural to put the worse interpretation upon them. Now from the time of Theognis to the date of the Mutinensis there is no certain trace of the *Μοῦσα παιδική* in Greek literature. Athenaeus, when he wants to charge Theognis with *παιδεραστία*, has recourse to the first book, and his language (*γούν*) suggests that he did not know the second book, at least as the work of Theognis. Athenaeus is the first to find fault with the morality of our author: Suidas brings an emphatic charge against him. Why this change of attitude? The dates speak for themselves. The Mutinensis, the only manuscript which has the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, belongs to the tenth century, so that at some time not later than the tenth century the *Μοῦσα παιδική* was brought back to life. Suidas also belongs to the tenth century. If he was acquainted with the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, it was natural and proper that he should put the worse construction on the ambiguities of the first book. Note that the *real* character of these passages does not

<sup>1</sup> *P. L. G.* ii. p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Rheinisches Museum*, 1867, p. 183.

matter here, but only the character which they would have in the eyes of men ignorant of the second book.

The facts of the case, then, with regard to the form of Theognis known to ancient writers may be put briefly thus. Firstly, mentions of Theognis or quotations from the first book appear in a fair number of Greek writers, from the fourth century before Christ to Stobaeus, and in a very few Latin authors—Lucilius, Varro, Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>1</sup>; but no reference is made to him which necessarily disagrees with the first book as we have it, and nothing is quoted from him which is not to be found there, except eight lines in Stobaeus and two in Athenaeus. Secondly, before Suidas no writer, Greek or Latin, shews certain signs of acquaintance with the second book.

<sup>1</sup> Their knowledge of Theognis seems to have been slight, and they do not help us here. The passage of Lucilius will be quoted later. Varro (see p. 73 of Gerlach's edition) paraphrases 183—4 but does not mention the poet's name. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxix. 1. 21: *paupertatis...cuius metu vel in mare nos ire praecipites suadet Theognis poeta vetus et prudens* (175—6).

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE METHODS OF MODERN CRITICISM.

IT is now time to consider the methods whereby modern critics have sought to rid the text of Theognis of foreign matter.

Modern criticism of Theognis may be said to begin with F. G. Welcker. Welcker made a free use of the knife, and the principles of his surgery are still in vogue. Later writers have differed from him chiefly on points of detail. It will therefore be convenient to follow his method, and to note more recent opinions, if they are worth notice, in their proper place. He groups his excisions under six heads<sup>1</sup>.

#### I.

"Poems which are ascribed by ancient authors to other poets—Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon, Euenus<sup>2</sup>."

At the end of his text Welcker prints several poems under these names, and others under the heading 'Αδέσποτοι.

Lines 1003—6 he gives to Tyrtaeus<sup>3</sup>. The same lines with the difference of only one word are found in a poem of Tyrtaeus, 12. 13—16:

ἥδ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον  
κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ νέφ'  
ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόλῃ τε παντὶ τε δήμῳ  
ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένη.

For νέφ the manuscripts of Theognis give σοφῶ. In

<sup>1</sup> *Prolegomena*, especially pp. lxxx sqq.

<sup>2</sup> These passages are discussed by F. Cauer in *Philologus* iii. 1890, pp. 661—8. He follows Welcker in every case.

<sup>3</sup> I assume throughout that Tyrtaeus wrote before Theognis. See Appendix III.

Tyrtæus the construction goes on after μένη without break: in Theognis the end seems to come at μένη. The change from νέφ to σοφῶ is significant, especially as it occurs at the end of a pentameter, a very emphatic place. Tyrtæus is full of exhortations to *young* men. In 10. 10—32 he reminds the young men (ὦ νέοι) that it is a disgrace to let their elders be slain before them in the fight. In 11. 10 again he addresses the young men (ὦ νέοι). Similarly in the present passage he speaks of valour in battle as especially befitting the young man. Let us suppose that Theognis saw here an opportunity of correcting the earlier poet, as Solon makes an amendment to Mimnermus' prayer for sixty years of life. With this object he might have addressed Tyrtæus by name, as Solon addresses Mimnermus (Λόγνασ-τάδην). But he may have thought it a simpler and neater plan to repeat as many of the lines of Tyrtæus as he needed, tacitly making a vital substitution, and to add lines of his own which should explain the purpose of the change. This assumption made, no difficulty remains. Tyrtæus had said: "This<sup>1</sup> is excellence, this is the best prize of life and noblest for a young man to win, and a common boon to his city and all his folk, if he stand stoutly in the van of battle, never flinching, and put quite away all thought of craven flight...." Theognis amends the sentiment thus (1003—12): "This is excellence, this is the best prize of life to win for a *wise* man, yea and a common boon to his city and all his folk, if he stand stoutly in the van of battle. But a common counsel will I give to men, that while each is young, in the flower of life and in full vigour of mind, he take his pleasure of his own goods; for the gods vouchsafe not a second youth nor release from death to mortal men...<sup>2</sup>" σοφῶ naturally gets a somewhat contemptuous colour from the context, as "seuerus" does in the fifth poem of Catullus:

rumoresque senum seueriorum  
omnes unius aestimemus assis.

<sup>1</sup> In Tyrtæus ἡδ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἀθλον refers either to what precedes or to what follows or to both; in Theognis it refers to what follows.

<sup>2</sup> The last words of the poem are obscure and perhaps corrupt.

ξυνόν in 1007 is an echo of ξυνόν in 1005. The intelligent reader or hearer of Theognis would of course be aware that the poem was adapted from Tyrtaeus, and having in his mind the word which σοφῶ replaced he would be prepared for the explanation: "(Valour is well enough for the *wise* man,) but let the *young* man take his pleasure while he may, since youth is short and from death is no escape." This sentiment is quite in place in Theognis, whose teaching is often the cynicism of the man of the world. Tyrtaeus counsels patriotism, Theognis selfishness.

Thus everything is explained—the borrowing from Tyrtaeus, the change from νέω to σοφῶ, and the connexion between 1003—6 and 1007—12; and the poem which results is complete and well-turned<sup>1</sup>.

933—8:

παύροις ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴ καὶ κάλλος ὀπηδεῖ.  
 ὀλβιος, ὃς τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἔλαχεν.  
 πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν· ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν  
 χῶρης εἴκουσιν τοί τε παλαιότεροι·  
 γηράσκων ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν  
 βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει.

This poem also Welcker gives to Tyrtaeus<sup>2</sup>. In a later passage of fragment 12, speaking of victory in battle, Tyrtaeus says (35—42):

εἰ δὲ φύγῃ μὲν κῆρα τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,  
 νικήσας δ' αἰχμῆς ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἔλῃ,  
 πάντες μιν τιμῶσιν ὁμῶς νέοι ἡδὲ παλαιοί,  
 πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς Αἶδην·

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that a change in the meaning of ἀεθλον φέρειν may be part of the change in the spirit of the poem. If ἀεθλον could mean not "prize" but "toil" here, the meaning would be: "this is excellence, this is the finest toil to put up with for a wise man..."; which is rather more appropriate to the turn which Theognis has given the poem. But it is doubtful whether ἀεθλον can mean "toil."

<sup>2</sup> But he is inconsistent, for on p. 130 he speaks of the "incertus" who used the lines of Tyrtaeus for his own purpose. Might not that "incertus" be Theognis?

· γηράσκων ἀστοῖσι μεταπρέπει, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν  
βλάπτειν οὔτ' αἰδοῦς οὔτε δίκης ἐθέλει,  
πάντες δ' ἐν θάκοισιν ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν  
εἴκουσ' ἐκ χώρης οἳ τε παλαιότεροι.

Thus the first couplet of the Theognidean poem is not from Tyrtaeus. Bergk thinks that it may be taken from Solon, but his reasons are slight. Here again it looks as if Theognis had borrowed and amended some lines of Tyrtaeus, at the same time giving them a new application. Tyrtaeus makes respect the reward of valour: Theognis makes it the homage paid to him who combines excellence with beauty. Thus he produces a sentiment quite foreign to Tyrtaeus. In the rest of the poem all that Theognis has done is to compress and improve the language of the older poet; and in this of course Bergk and Cauer see the hand of the "epitomae auctor." The lines of Tyrtaeus are not good; they suffer from his usual fault of loose verbosity. "All honour him, young and old; and many joys hath he ere he goeth down to Death. As he groweth old he is notable among his townfolk, nor will any man do him disservice in reverence or right; and all in councils yield him place, young men and his peers in years and his elders." The repetition of ὁμῶς νέοι οἳ τε κατ' αὐτὸν...οἳ τε παλαιότεροι four lines after ὁμῶς νέοι ἡδὲ παλαιοί shews lack of resource, and the general arrangement of the thought is grotesque, for first we have mention of the warrior's death, then of his declining years, and lastly of his middle age. Theognis has avoided both the repetition and the ὕστερον πρότερον, and his use of asyndeton is effective; while by keeping close to the language of Tyrtaeus he lets his hearers or readers know that besides their own value his lines have the merit of correcting another poet's bad work<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein (p. 64, n. 2) says of this poem: "Der für eine andere Stadt und minder kriegerische Gesellschaft dichtende Nachahmer setzt für das Heldentum nur die in ihrer Farblosigkeit charakteristischen Worte ἀρετή καὶ κάλλος ein und vermeidet nach Kräften die schleppenden Wiederholungen des Originals." Why should not this skilful imitator be Theognis? Compared with Tyrtaeus Theognis is unwarlike. His violence (e.g. 349: τῶν ἐπὶ μέλαν αἶμα πτεῖν) better fits the

1017—22:

αὐτίκα μοι κατὰ μὲν χροίην ῥέει ἄσπετος ἰδρώς,  
 πτοιῶμαι δ' ἐσορῶν ἄνθος ὀμηλικῆς  
 τερπνὸν ὁμῶς καὶ καλόν, ἐπεὶ πλέον ὄφελον εἶναι.  
 ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον<sup>1</sup> γίνεται ὥσπερ ὄναρ  
 ἦβη τιμήεσσα, τὸ δ' οὐλόμενον καὶ ἄμορφον  
 αὐτίχ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς γῆρας ὑπερκρέμαται.

This poem Welcker ascribes to Mimnermus. Stobaeus, cxvi. 34, has the last three lines under the title ἐκ Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦς, with no variation except ἀργαλέον for οὐλόμενον and γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτίχ' for αὐτίχ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς γῆρας. But in Stobaeus the construction goes on into another couplet:

ἐχθρὸν ὁμῶς καὶ ἄτιμον, ὃ τ' ἄγνωστον τιθεῖ ἄνδρα,  
 βλάπτει δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ νόον ἀμφιχυθέν.

There is no good reason for giving the first three lines to Mimnermus. Here too Theognis may have joined lines of another poet with lines of his own, and the change from ἀργαλέον to οὐλόμενον may be due to him.

Lines 1227—8 do not belong to Theognis; they are not found in our manuscripts, and they were included in the text only by a mistake of Hugo Grotius, for in Stobaeus, xi. 1, they have the lemma Μενάνδρου Ναννοῦς, where Μιμνέρμου should be read.

The second couplet of 793—6 is the same as a couplet which stands in the Palatine Anthology, ix. 50, under the heading Μιμνέρμου; whence Bergk and others assign 793—6 to Mimnermus. Welcker however, by a strange departure from his principles, keeps them among the poems of Theognis, and admits<sup>2</sup> that Theognis incorporated the couplet of

partisan and the exile than the soldier. Thus he would naturally tend to rob Tyrtaeus' lines of their soldierly spirit; but their language he would be likely to strengthen, being certainly the better poet of the two.

θεοῖσι φίλοι Θεότιμος in 881 is clearly modelled on Tyrtaeus 5. 1: θεοῖσι φίλῳ Θεοπόμπῳ.

<sup>1</sup> In 1020 Bergk's ὀλιγοχρόνιος is read by only one manuscript of Theognis, the second best, and it is probably a would-be correction.

<sup>2</sup> P. 130.

Mimnermus in a poem of his own. That is an interesting concession from the leader of οἱ χωρίζοντες.

585—90:

πᾶσιν τοι κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν  
πῇ σχήσειν μέλλει, πρήγματος ἀρχομένου·  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὐδοκιμεῖν πειρώμενος οὐ προνοήσας  
εἰς μεγάλην ἄτην καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔπεσεν,  
τῷ δὲ καλῶς ποιεῖντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα τίθησιν  
συντυχίην ἀγαθὴν, ἔκλυσιν ἀφροσύνης.

Welcker ascribes this poem to Solon. In the thirteenth fragment of Solon are the following lines (65—70):

πᾶσι δέ τοι κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν, οὐδέ τις οἶδεν  
ἣ μέλλει σχήσειν, χρήματος ἀρχομένου·  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν εὖ ἔρδειν πειρώμενος οὐ προνοήσας  
εἰς μεγάλην ἄτην καὶ χαλεπὴν ἔπεσεν,  
τῷ δὲ κακῶς ἔρδοντι θεὸς περὶ πάντα δίδωσιν  
συντυχίην ἀγαθὴν, ἔκλυσιν ἀφροσύνης.

While κακῶς is well supported and certainly right in Solon, all the manuscripts of Theognis have καλῶς, and Stobaeus and two others who quote these lines from Theognis have καλόν; and while κακῶς might become καλῶς by error, no ordinary error could turn εὖ ἔρδειν into εὐδοκιμεῖν. If these changes are not due to accident, with what purpose were they made? It is to be observed that ὁ εὐδοκιμεῖν πειρώμενος, "he who tries to be of good repute," means neither the same nor nearly the same as ὁ εὖ ἔρδειν πειρώμενος, "he who tries to act aright." The words ὁ εὐδοκιμεῖν πειρώμενος naturally describe him who assumes virtue, not him who has it; and conversely the words τῷ καλῶς ἔρδοντι, in contrast with ὁ εὐδοκιμεῖν πειρώμενος, describe the man who does right without aiming at public recognition of his virtue. Thus here again Theognis contradicts an older poet, and marks the contradiction by keeping the general cast of the language unchanged. Solon had said that the gods were unjust: Theognis replies that the truly good man is not without his reward. It is beyond the power of man to foretell the



future; but if a man does right instead of seeming to do right, even his blunders come to a good end. "In all works is danger, and no man knoweth where he shall stop when a matter is at its beginning; but while he that seeketh after good repute falleth into great and grievous mischief that he foresaw not, for him that doth right heaven putteth a good issue on all things, a release from his folly."

Lines 227—32 again are similar to the conclusion of the same poem of Solon (13. 71—6):

πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κείται<sup>1</sup>  
οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἡμέων πλείστον ἔχουσι βίον,  
διπλασίως σπεύδουσι· τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας;  
κέρδεά τοι θνητοῖς ὅπασαν ἀθάνατοι,  
ἄτῃ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναφαίνεται, ἣν ὁπότεν Ζεὺς  
πέμψῃ τισομένην ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Here again the last three lines of the Theognidean version depart so far from Solon that the poems are two and not one. Probably here also Theognis has remodelled older lines. Some of his changes are small, being due perhaps merely to a desire for just so much differentiation as would give his adaptation an air of novelty<sup>2</sup>; but in the last three lines he distinctly improves on his original. In Solon the change from ἀθάνατοι to Ζεὺς, where one of the two ought to have been used in both places, is certainly a fault, and just such a fault as a reviser would remove. Very likely Theognis intended his revised version to be a continuation of 221—6, not an independent poem<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This line is quoted by Aristotle (*Politics*, p. 1256 b), Plutarch (*de cupiditate divitiarum*, 4) and Basil. Aristotle and Basil give ἀνδράσι κείται with Stobaeus; Plutarch gives ἀνθρώποισι with the Theognidean version.

<sup>2</sup> *τειρομένοις* in 232 is unsatisfactory. As F. Cauer says, "nicht Bedrängten schickt Zeus das Unheil, sondern durch das von Zeus gesandte Unheil gerathen die Menschen in Bedrängnis." Perhaps *τειρομένοις* is a corruption of *τισομένην* caused in part by a survival of the old spelling *τεισομένην*.

<sup>3</sup> Is the thirteenth fragment of Solon really a single poem? Surely an end should be made at line 64. The addition of 65—70 and 71—76 in Stobaeus may be due to amalgamation of three passages into one after the lemmata of the second and third had been lost.

With 315—8 are almost identical the following lines of Solon (fragment 15), quoted as Solon's by Plutarch<sup>1</sup>:

πολλοὶ γὰρ πλουτεῦσι κακοὶ ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·  
 ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειφόμεθα  
 τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδόν ἐστιν,  
 χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

Theognis has *τοι* instead of *γὰρ*, *τούτοις* instead of *αὐτοῖς*; and in the third line *αἰεὶ* instead of *ἐστιν*, with Basil and one manuscript of Plutarch. The only important difference is between *γὰρ* and *τοι*. The latter is appropriate, the former inappropriate, at the beginning of an independent gnome. Perhaps Theognis took the lines bodily from Solon, with just this change to make them stand alone, and others for the sake of differentiation; and put them at the head of another poem, lines 319—22, in which he looks at the same subject from a somewhat different point of view.

Lines 719—28 are closely related to the twenty-fourth fragment of Solon, this also preserved in Plutarch's *Solon*, where we read:

ἰσὸν τοι πλουτοῦσιν ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν  
 καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία  
 ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ὅ μόνα ταῦτα πάρεστίν,  
 γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇ καὶ ποσὶν ἀβρὰ παθεῖν,  
 παιδὸς τ' ἠδὲ γυναικός, ἐπὴν καὶ ταῦτ' ἀφίκηται  
 ἥβης (or ἥβη), σὺν δ' ὥρῃ γίνεται ἀρμονία.

If we look at these lines apart from the lines of Theognis their meaning is satisfactory, and no alteration of the text is required, except perhaps *πλευρῆς* for *πλευρῇ*. "Equal is the wealth of him who hath much gold and silver and fields of wheat-bearing land and horses and mules, and of him who hath only enough for the comfort of his belly and sides and feet—and of his child's and wife's, when he cometh to years ripe for marriage—, together with Music the companion of Youth." In the Hymn to the Pythian Apollo are these words (16—18):

<sup>1</sup> *Solon*, ch. 3.

αὐτὰρ ἐνπλόκαμοι Χάριτες καὶ εὐφρονες ὦραι  
 Ἄρμονίη θ' Ἥβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ τ' Ἀφροδίτη  
 ὀρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χειράς ἐχουσαι.

It can hardly be a freak of chance that Ἥβη, ὦρη and Ἄρμονία recur so close together in Solon. Most probably Solon was consciously echoing the words of the hymn. More literally his lines mean: "(him who has enough for comfort) and who has Music together with Youth." ὦρη is the prime of manhood; Music is the necessary minimum of refined enjoyment. If ὦρη were not personified here, σὺν ὦρῃ would be a strange combination. The genitives παιδός τ' ἡδὲ γυναικός are governed by γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇς καὶ ποσὶν understood: an irregular construction which seems quite possible in a poet. Whether we read ἥβης or ἥβη is immaterial. In the third line καὶ may stand, and the change to κατὰ, though slight, is unnecessary. For Ἄρμονία in the sense of "Music" compare Aeschylus, *Supplices* 1041: δέδοται δ' Ἄρμονία μοῖρ' Ἀφροδίτας. The last two lines have been variously emended<sup>1</sup>, but never well. Bergk reads ἀρμόδια, "and proper things in their season," which would be vague even if σὺν ὦρῃ could mean "at the right time." No change is necessary if we leave Theognis out of the question.

The way in which Theognis deals with this poem in 719—28 is characteristic of his semi-quotations. Solon had spoken of the needs of a pure and virtuous life: Theognis, by slightly changing the language, changes the picture from virtue to vice. Solon gives his poor man a wife and a child, Theognis gives him a παιδική and a mistress. He so rearranges the latter part of the fifth line that the words παιδός τ' ἡδὲ γυναικός must be followed by a strong stop, the effect of which is not only to lay greater stress upon them (for when the first words of a hexameter go with the preceding couplet, they are almost always emphatic), but also to make it necessary to take them as depending on ἀβρὰ παθεῖν<sup>2</sup>. By

<sup>1</sup> See Bergk's note and Madvig's *Adversaria Critica*, i. p. 570.

<sup>2</sup> Compare 1009: τῶν αὐτοῦ κτεάνων εὖ πασχόμεν. Mr H. Richards, in the *Journal of Philology*, xxv. p. 87, calls this genitive after εὖ πασχόμεν an impossible construction, and he points out that in the only other example quoted

interchanging ἥβη and ὥρη and by altering a single letter in the last word of the pentameter—ἁρμονία to ἁρμονία—, he cuts out all mention of music, and produces instead another clause to complete the sense of the preceding words. By the change of construction in the fifth line he has prepared the way for the addition of four more lines. These four lines are nowhere quoted as Solon's, and the passage of Solon as quoted by Plutarch is complete both in syntax and in sense; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that they were not written by Solon but added by Theognis. Some of the readings are uncertain in the Theognidean version. In 721 the Mutinensis has τὰ λέοντα by the common confusion of Δ and Λ, while Stobaeus, who quotes these lines from Theognis, has τάδε πάντα<sup>1</sup>. In 723 one manuscript of Stobaeus has ἐφίκηται, which may be right—very likely the true reading is ὅταν δέ κε τῶν ἐφίκηται ὥρης, "ubi autem horum flore potitus est"; compare the variants ἥβη and ἥβης in Solon. But these are small matters. The whole poem may be translated thus: "Equal is the wealth of those who have much gold and silver and fields of wheat-bearing land and horses and mules, and of him who hath enough where-with to give pleasure to belly and sides and feet, and to take his pleasure of a boy or a woman. When the time for these things is come, and manhood withal to fit them, *that* is wealth to mortal men. For all his exceeding riches no man taketh with him to the grave, and no money can buy ransom from death or heavy sicknesses or the oncoming of evil eld."

by Liddell and Scott, in Pindar's first Nemean ode, the genitive is a genitive absolute. He therefore reads τῶν αὐτοῦ 'κ κτεάνων, comparing 577, where 'κ is omitted before a kappa in O. The change is slight but not necessary; and such a use of ἐκ needs illustration. The genitive both with ἀβρὰ παθεῖν and with εὖ πασχόμεν is amply justified by the analogy of ἀπολαύω and γεύομαι, of ἐρᾶν, and of other verbs, as well as by the nature of the genitive case. Compare for instance 1000: παντοίων ἀγαθῶν γαστρὶ χαρίζμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> E. von Geyso (*Studia Theognidea*, p. 56, n. 29) remarks that Horace imitates the Theognidean version, with ᾧ τὰ δέοντα πάρεστιν, in *Epistles* i. 12. 4—6:

pauper enim non est, cui rerum suppetit usus;  
si ventri bene, si laterist pedibusque tuis, nil  
divitiae poterunt regales addere maius.

Thus in the hands of Theognis the poem has quite changed its character. The new form may be called a parody of the old, if the word be understood to imply no ridicule of the original. Similarly Lewis Carroll's adage, "Take care of the sense and the sounds will take care of themselves," parodies an older proverb but in no way ridicules it. Solon's poem being present to the minds of the hearers or readers of Theognis, the purpose of his changes could hardly be missed; but taken by itself the later poem is not very clear, and we need not wonder that Athenaeus did not use it in support of the charge which he brings against Theognis in his seventh book—even if it had been his object there to collect all the evidence of the poet's immorality, which it was not.

Lines 1253—4 resemble the twenty-third fragment of Solon. These are Solon's lines, with Bergk's note:

Ὀλβιος ᾧ παιδὲς τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι  
καὶ κύνες ἀγρευταὶ καὶ ξένος ἀλλοδαπός.

"Plato *Lys.* 212 E: ἀλλὰ ψεύδεθ' ὁ ποιητὴς δς ἔφη· Ὀλβιος κ.τ.λ. Solonis esse docet Hermias in Phaedr. p. 78 ed. Ast.: Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ὡς καλοῦ τοῦ ἐρᾶν μνημονεύει (Solon) λέγων· Ὀλβιοι ᾧ κ.τ.λ. Cf. Luc. Amor. c. 48: ὀλβιος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ τὴν τῶν σοφῶν ἀπόφασιν, ᾧ παιδὲς τε νέοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι. Eadem in Theogn. 1253—4, ubi θηρευταὶ τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί."

The passage of the *Lysis* is as follows:—οὐδ' ἄρα φίλιπποι εἰσιν οὓς ἂν οἱ ἵπποι μὴ ἀντιφιλῶσιν, οὐδὲ φιλόρτυγες, οὐδ' αὖ φιλόκυνες γε καὶ φίλοινοι καὶ φιλογυμνασταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, ἂν μὴ ἡ σοφία αὐτοὺς ἀντιφίλῃ. ἡ φιλοῦσι μὲν ταῦθ' ἕκαστα, οὐ μέντοι φίλα ὄντα, ἀλλὰ ψεύδεθ' ὁ ποιητὴς δς ἔφη

Ὀλβιος ᾧ παιδὲς τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι  
καὶ κύνες ἀγρευταὶ καὶ ξένος ἀλλοδαπός.

Heindorf and others have seen that Plato is here misinterpreting Solon, since φίλοι goes only with παιδες and not with ἵπποι, κύνες, ξένοι. This is quite true, though E. Hiller thinks that we are bound to accept Plato's interpretation<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 470, n. 37.

That would be to put too blind a trust in Plato. Heindorf notices a similar perversity in the *Second Alcibiades*<sup>1</sup>, "antiqui certe auctoris, licet non Platonis, libro," the author of which takes the well known line from the *Margites* to mean πολλά μὲν ἡπίστατο ἔργα, κακὸν δὲ ἦν ἐπίστασθαι αὐτῷ πάντα ταῦτα. But to return to the couplet of Solon. φίλοι in Solon is not predicative but strictly adjectival; and this is confirmed in a sort of way by Lucian, who for φίλοι has νέοι, which cannot be predicative. Note however that Lucian seems to be quoting from memory, as νέοι and the vague expression κατὰ τὴν τῶν σοφῶν ἀπόφασιν suggest. In Homer φίλος is a fixed epithet of παῖς as of ἄλοχος, πατήρ, θυμός, πατρὶς γαῖα; and Solon adopts the Homeric combination παῖδες φίλοι as he adopts μώνυχες ἵπποι. Thus the natural meaning of Solon's lines is: "Happy the man who hath dear children and horses of solid hoof and hunting dogs and a friend in a foreign land." This couplet Theognis has borrowed and altered for his own purposes. In the pentameter he has made two changes, both for the better. ἀγρευτής does not occur in Homer, and ἀγρευταὶ κύνες seems to be found only in the line of Solon. Theognis therefore substitutes the Homeric expression θηρευταὶ κύνες<sup>2</sup>, which makes a fourth with παῖδες φίλοι, μώνυχες ἵπποι, ξένοι ἄλλοδαποί<sup>3</sup>.

These points of language, however, do not affect the sense of the couplet. Has Theognis made any change in the sense? A complete change. As many quotations from Shakespeare—"To be or not to be, that is the question," for instance—are often made to bear a false meaning by a wrong application, so Theognis alters the meaning of Solon's couplet by putting it in a new context. Standing as it does in the Μοῦσα παιδική, there can be no doubt that it was meant to be understood in the spirit of the neighbouring poems. The context, in fact, forces us to take φίλοι predicatively; and to make this doubly sure, in the next couplet Theognis repeats the sentiment in a somewhat stronger form, and by the use of

<sup>1</sup> P. 147 D.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* xi. 325.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey* xvii. 485.

an active verb leaves no doubt about the sense in which he would have φίλοι understood:—

ὅστις μὴ παῖδάς τε φιλεῖ καὶ μώνυχας ἵππους  
καὶ κύνας, οὐποτέ οἱ θυμὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ.

By the simple device of putting Solon's couplet in a false context Theognis has given it on purpose the meaning which Plato gave it out of perversity or by mistake<sup>1</sup>.

We find then that in no case are lines found in the text of Theognis exactly the same as lines elsewhere ascribed to other poets. Welcker is content to print the suspicious passages under the names of Tyrtaeus, Solon, Mimnermus; but while he sees, as everyone can see, their resemblances to the lines of the older poets, he does not explain how they came to differ so much. A review of these differences has shewn that sometimes Theognis merely appropriates the lines of other poets, with only slight changes<sup>2</sup>; sometimes he incorporates them in his own work<sup>3</sup>; sometimes he gives them a new application by putting them in a new context<sup>4</sup>: sometimes he makes a vital change<sup>5</sup>.

With regard to one passage already discussed Welcker abandons his principles; we now come to a second. He prints as the work of Theognis a line which Clement of Alexandria<sup>6</sup> mentions as an imitation of a line of Solon's:

Σόλωνος δὲ ποιήσαντος  
τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν ὅτ' ἂν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπηται,  
ἄντικρυς<sup>7</sup> ὁ Θεόγνις γράφει  
τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν ὅτ' ἂν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπηται.

<sup>1</sup> E. Hiller, *N. Jch. f. Philol.*, 1881, p. 470, speaking of the couplet 1253—4: "dieses aber hat der dichter nur mitgeteilt, um es alsdann in dem darauf folgenden distichon mit negativem ausdruck zu variieren." Would that have been worth doing? Hiller takes Plato's view of the couplet, and thinks the *Μοῦσα παιδική* not by Theognis.

<sup>2</sup> 315—8.

<sup>3</sup> 1020—2, 795—6.

<sup>4</sup> 935—8, 1253—4.

<sup>5</sup> 1003—6, 585—90, 227—32, 719—24.

<sup>6</sup> *Στρωματεῖς* vi. 2 § 8, p. 740.

<sup>7</sup> *ἄντικρυς* seems to mean "straight out," "unblushingly," as in sections 5, 24 and 25 of the same chapter.

The context wherein the line occurred in Solon has recently come to light, for in the twelfth chapter of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία the following four lines of Solon are quoted :

δῆμος δ' ὧδ' ἂν ἄριστα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἔποιτο,  
μήτε λῖαν ἀνεθείς μήτε βιαζόμενος.  
τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπηται  
ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.

Thus the second pentameter as well as the second hexameter was imitated by Theognis from Solon, and the couplet followed another already known to us, Bergk's sixth fragment.

Lines 153—4 of Theognis are as follows<sup>1</sup>:

τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν κακῷ ὄλβος ἔπηται  
ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὅτῳ μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.

With this couplet no fault can be found. It is complete in itself. Solon's connecting γὰρ has been removed, and τοι, appropriate to an independent aphorism, put in its place. By changing πολὺς to κακῷ Theognis doubtless meant to remind his readers of the κακῷ of 151, and to lay stress on the fact that it is not the quantity of the good fortune but the quality of the recipient's mind which determines his fate. The changes in the pentameter necessarily followed, since the plural κακοῖς did not fit the hexameter and was not in itself so good as the singular. Thus once again Theognis has borrowed and amended a couplet of another poet's in order to reinforce one of his own.

The passage of Clement is a valuable piece of evidence. Cauer<sup>2</sup> sees in it no more than a proof that as early as Clement's time foreign matter had found its way into the text of Theognis. That alone would be an important fact. Welcker imagines our collection to have been compiled at Constantinople: from Clement it appears that in his time, a century before the foundation of Constantinople, the poems

<sup>1</sup> AO read ἀνθρώπων, but the ἀνθρώπῳ of the inferior manuscripts is no doubt right.

<sup>2</sup> *Philologus* iii. 1890, p. 667 and p. 668.



of Theognis contained a line which Welcker was bound by his own principles to banish from the text. But the real significance of the passage is this, that a writer who flourished about A.D. 200 saw and accepted without surprise as the work of Theognis an amendment to an older aphorism, similar to the amendments which have been reviewed above. It does not matter for this purpose how the Theognidean line was actually produced—whether Theognis wrote it himself, or a distorted form of Solon's line was inserted in his poem by some one else. The fact remains that Clement knew both forms of the line, and regarded the one not as an accidental but as a deliberate differentiation of the other; that he believed Theognis capable of borrowing a line from Solon with only a change so small that modern scholars have thought it due to accidental corruption; by the change, in fact, of only one word, and that a word not emphatic by position. But for the passage of Clement no doubt 153—4 would be ascribed at once to Solon; and indeed Hartung actually does ascribe them to Solon in spite of the passage of Clement.

It is worth while to notice that these lines occur in the part of our collection which most scholars admit to be wholly or nearly free from foreign matter, and to represent best the original form of Theognis<sup>1</sup>.

It may be added at this point that in one case Phocylides and Theognis adopted a proverb in the same words. Aristotle<sup>2</sup> quotes the proverb ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶς ἀρετή 'σται, and we know from the commentators on that passage that this line appeared not only in Theognis (147) but also in Phocylides. Bergk in his note on 153 suspects that something like this has happened also in 153—4, since Diogenianus gives a proverb τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν ὅταν κακῷ ἀνδρὶ παρῇ, which might account both for 153 and for Solon's line. But

<sup>1</sup> J. Heinemann (*Hermes* xxxiv. p. 595): "Unbestrittener Maassen ist in den ersten 250 Versen weit mehr theognideisches Gut enthalten als in den folgenden 1000."

<sup>2</sup> *Nicomachean Ethics* v. 3. See the scholia published by Professor Bywater in *Hermes* v. p. 356.

even if this proverb existed before Solon, Solon did not merely borrow it, for he introduces *δλβος*; and in this he was followed by Theognis. If the proverb is to be derived from either poet, it is more probably a popular misquotation of Theognis' line, to which it bears a greater resemblance than to Solon's.

255—6 are practically identical with a couplet which was known in the time of Aristotle<sup>1</sup> as τὸ Δηλιακὸν ἐπίγραμμα. At the beginning of the *Eudemian Ethics* it is ascribed to ὁ ἐν Δῆλῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφηνάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ προπύλαιον τοῦ Λητώου... ποιήσας Κάλλιστον κ.τ.λ. There is nothing against the supposition that Theognis both wrote the lines and inscribed them at Delos.

Let us now turn to an obscure expression in the middle of the book. In 769—72 Theognis says that the poet must not hide his light from the world :

χρὴ Μουσῶν θεράποντα καὶ ἄγγελον, εἴ τι περισσὸν  
εἰδείη, σοφίης μὴ φθονερὸν τελέθειν,  
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μῶσθαι, τὰ δὲ δεικνύναι, ἄλλα δὲ ποιεῖν.  
τί σφιν χρήσεται μῦθος ἐπιστάμενος;

Since *ποιεῖν* seems at first sight to cover *all* that the poet could publish, this triple division of his work demands an explanation. Now common as *ποιεῖν* is in the special meaning "to write poetry," it is infinitely commoner in the general meaning "make." Among all that a poet *writes*, what does he most wholly *make*? Clearly those poems in which he owes least to other men's work. If then he divides his writings into three classes; gives to each a verb for label; and chooses for the third of his labels the word "make," which expresses the simplest and strongest title of authorship: it is clear that the other two verbs must assert weaker claims. Tennyson, for example, has the best title that man can have to the full ownership of *Locksley Hall*; his title to the *Idylls of the King* is not so good; and his title to the *Specimen of a*

<sup>1</sup> *Nicomachean Ethics* i. p. 1099 a. See T. Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae*, no. 209.

*Translation of the Iliad in Blank Verse* is slighter still. These are refinements, it is true: but unless he is talking at random Theognis also refines. By ποιεῖν then he would seem to mean those poems in which he borrowed little or nothing from older writers; and consequently by μῶσθαι and δεικνύναι he must mean those poems in which he had made use of earlier writing or of thoughts which he could not honestly call his own. The words "seek, shew, make" are not full descriptions; each is a mere touch; expansion alone can make their meaning clear. μῶσθαι, which denotes desire, seeking after a thing, coveting it, suggests appropriation<sup>1</sup>; δεικνύναι suggests illustration<sup>2</sup>. The former suits our poet's treatment of the lines of Mimnermus in 793—6 and 1017—22; the latter applies to his interpretation or misinterpretation of Solon's thought in 319—22 and 1255—6. Thus in 771 it seems reasonable to see an avowal of such a mixture of wholly and partly original work as we have found by examining the poems themselves.

Under the heading Γνώμαι ἀδέσποτοι Welcker prints three passages, 467—74, 667—70, 903—30.

Lines 467—74 are taken from what most scholars have thought a complete elegy, 467—96. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* iv. 5, has these words: τὸ γὰρ βίαιον ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται, διὸ καὶ λυπηρόν, ὥσπερ καὶ Εὐηνός φησι. Πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμ' ἀνιαρὸν ἔφν; and the line is quoted again with Euenus' name in the *Eudemian Ethics*, ii. 7, and without his name in the *Rhetoric*, i. 11. Plutarch too ascribes it,

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Cratylus*, 406 A: τὰς δὲ Μούσας τε καὶ ὅλως τὴν μουσικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μῶσθαι, ὡς ἔοικεν, καὶ τῆς ζητήσεως τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπώνησεν. It is unlikely that Theognis is thinking of any such connexion between Μουσῶν and μῶσθαι here. The determined etymologist will often find resemblance where the ordinary man sees none.

<sup>2</sup> The three words together suggest something perhaps not unlike what the Preacher expresses thus: "Yea, he pondered, and sought out, and set in order many proverbs" (*Ecclesiastes*, xii. 9). On this passage Professor R. G. Moulton makes the following comment: "'Pondered' suggests original composition, and it is unnecessary to remark that a large part of this work bears the impress of a highly individual thinker. 'Sought out' may well mean borrowing from others." (*The Modern Reader's Bible. Ecclesiastes and The Wisdom of Solomon*, p. viii.)

with ἀνιηρόν, to Euenus<sup>1</sup>. Now in Theognis, 472, we read: πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον χρῆμ' ἀνιηρόν ἔφν. To those who regard our text as an anthology compiled from various poets this is proof positive that Euenus is the author of 467—74. But which Euenus? The sophist who outlived Socrates<sup>2</sup>, or the older poet? Bergk<sup>3</sup> is for the latter, since "is, qui hanc syllogen concinnavit, veterum tantum poetarum monumenta adhibuit, noviciis poetis, qui circa Peloponnesii belli tempora floruerunt, procul habitis." Of the older Euenus we know little more than that he is mentioned in company with Callinus and Mimnermus, and that in the time of Eratosthenes he was only a name<sup>4</sup>. There are those, indeed, who do not believe in him. Bergk thinks that Aristotle would not have quoted from so recent a poet as the younger Euenus: "neque enim verisimile est, philosophum usum esse admodum recentis poetae auctoritate, cuius saeculo eiusmodi sententiae, quas Aristoteles Eueni nomine adhibet, iam erant pervagatae: potius consentaneum est, huius poetae aetatem a primordiis artis haud ita procul abesse." This is assertion without proof. About the evidence of the poem itself Bergk says not a word. M. Croiset<sup>5</sup> suggests a good reason why Aristotle may have chosen to quote from the younger Euenus: "Avec ces qualités, Événos devait se faire une sorte d'autorité de moraliste mondain. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi Aristote le cite à plusieurs reprises et pourquoi il lui emprunte même des choses que d'autres avaient dites avant lui. En les redisant après eux, Événos se les était appropriées."

Let us assume, however, that the line comes from the

<sup>1</sup> *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*, c. 21. There is some reason to believe that Plutarch often gets his quotations not direct from the poets but through Aristotle and others; and this may be an instance.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Phaedo* 61 B.

<sup>3</sup> *P. L. G.* ii. p. 271 ff. and p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> Harpocration, *sub verbo* Ἐθνος: δύο ἀναγράφουσιν Ἐθόνους ἐλεγείων ποιητὰς ὁμωνύμους ἀλλήλους, καθάπερ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῇ περὶ χρονολογιῶν, ἀμφοτέρους λέγων Παρίους εἶναι, γνωρίζεσθαι δὲ φησι τὸν νεώτερον μόνον· μέμνηται δὲ θατέρου αὐτῶν καὶ Πλάτων.

<sup>5</sup> *Litt. Gr.* iii.<sup>2</sup> p. 663 with note 1.

elder Euenus, and that he lived before Theognis. In the absence of any other trace of Euenus' hand in 467—96 this one line does not make good his claim to the whole poem. Euenus wrote *πρᾶγμ'* or *πρῆγμ'*: in Theognis we find *χρῆμ'*. This suggests that if the Euenus whom Aristotle quotes is the elder Euenus, here again Theognis has incorporated a line with a slight change for the sake of differentiation. As for the internal evidence, 467—74 are addressed to a Simonides, who may or may not be one of the two poets of that name. Simonides of Ceos was born about the fifty-sixth Olympiad, while Theognis according to Suidas and others flourished or was born in the fifty-ninth, so that the two poets may have known each other. The same cannot safely be said of Simonides of Amorgos and the elder Euenus. Thus the evidence of the name Simonides, so far as it goes, favours the claims of Theognis to this poem.

If on the other hand the line belongs to the younger Euenus, he may have been borrowing or adapting from Theognis, just as in the first fragment he quotes the "old saying" *σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἔστω ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε*; as in the second *Βάκχου μέτρον ἄριστον* is based upon the maxim of Cleobulus, *μέτρον ἄριστον*, which Phocylides (fragment 12) and Theognis (335) had already used; as in the third *ὁρθῶς γυγνώσκειν οἶος ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ* has a clear connexion with 312 and 898 of Theognis.

Thus the ascription of this poem to Euenus breaks down. Welcker ascribes to him also lines 667—70, but for no better reason than that they too are addressed to Simonides. To Simonides are addressed also lines 1345—50, which belong to the *Μοῦσα παιδική*; but these Welcker prints under the head of *παρῳδαίαι*.

Lines 903—30 are addressed to one Democles. Bergk would ascribe them to some poet "who is not to be put on a level with the old masters of elegy, but was perhaps divided by no very long interval of time from the late poets whom the author of our collection set aside." The poem is certainly remarkably bad, and it may be a late effusion which has got

in by accident or by deliberate insertion. But this one may admit without following Welcker in his other excisions, for the poem is unique, and the charges which can be brought against it are such as can be brought against no other poem in the book<sup>1</sup>.

Following Welcker so far, recent writers have gone on to ascribe other poems to other poets. In 877—8 and 939—42 Bergk sees the hand of Mimnermus. Hartung would give 603—4 to Callinus, 605—6 to Solon. "Lines 879—85," says Bergk, "are perhaps taken from the elegies of Tyrtaeus, though others may think of Polymnestus. Hartung assigns them to Chilon." 1211—6 Bergk gave first to Thaletas and afterwards to Anacreon, while "von Leutsch ascribes them to Epimenides, whether in jest or in earnest I do not know." These conjectures rest on no evidence but that of style, or at best on geographical references, which must be treated with especial caution in the case of Theognis, who travelled much and made his home in many lands. Ascriptions of this kind have little value apart from the assumption that our collection is drawn from many poets, and they are not reasons for this assumption but consequences of it. The following are three good examples.

H. Flach<sup>2</sup> gives to Solon 947—8. "These lines," he says, "are without doubt Solonian." This for no better reason than that Solon held such a position as the lines describe, and that they do not agree with Flach's view of the political circumstances of Theognis, whose poems he regards as written all under a democracy. Herwerden too<sup>3</sup> ascribes the couplet to Solon because *λιπαρός* was a common epithet of Athens: "est *ἀφύων τιμῇ* illa, quam salse ridet Aristophanes<sup>4</sup>." But common as *λιπαραί Ἀθῆναι* is in later writers, it does not appear before Pindar, and Pindar calls many cities *λιπαρός* besides Athens.

<sup>1</sup> For a further discussion of this poem see Appendix III.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik*, p. 398, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Animadversiones Philologicae ad Theognidem*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Acharnians*, 639—40.

In 1043—4 Sitzler reads Ἀστυπάλῃς as a by-form of Ἀστυπαλαίης, and adds: "si Astypalaeam Coam intelligis, Philetas, si Samiam, Anacreon horum versuum auctor esse potest." There seems to be no authority whatever for this by-form, and Ἀστυπάλῃς is only an improbable conjecture.

603—4 refer to the fall of Magnesia, 1103—4 to the fall of Magnesia, Colophon and Smyrna. It is generally supposed that the second of these couplets could have been written only when the fall of Smyrna, which was destroyed by Sadyattes or his son Alyattes in the beginning of the sixth century, was fresh in men's minds; and only by a poet of Asia Minor<sup>1</sup>. This is neither proved nor probable. Colophon was taken by Gyges probably in the beginning of the seventh century, Magnesia by the Cimmerians not long after. Thus no poet could have seen all three events. And if the writer of lines 1103—4 took one or two of his examples from ancient history, who shall say that he did not take all three? Probably he borrowed them from earlier elegiac or iambic poetry<sup>2</sup>.

## II.

The second kind of alien matter which Welcker finds in our text is "parodiae, quas, ut furcillis expellantur, designasse sufficit, quamvis quaedam huc traxi, de quibus diversae fortasse erunt doctorum virorum sententiae."

He devotes pages LXXX to XCV of his *Prolegomena* to an examination of the remains of parody in Greek literature, with special reference to Bion of Borysthenes. He has no difficulty in finding much evidence that Theognis was often parodied. 215—6 were thus travestied with reference to the Philostratus who lived at the court of the great Cleopatra<sup>3</sup>:

πανσόφου ὀργὴν ἴσχε Φιλοστράτου, δς Κλεοπάτρα  
νῦν προσομιλήσας τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη.

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein, p. 66: "das gehört einem ionischen Dichter, ist aber durch Zufügung des Wortes Κύρνη nachträglich zum theognideischen umgearbeitet."

<sup>2</sup> The fate of Magnesia is mentioned by Archilochus, fragment 20.

<sup>3</sup> Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, i. 5.

This kind of parody is to be distinguished from what we find in Plutarch, *Περὶ στωικῶν ἐναντιωμάτων*, 1039 F, where Plutarch says of Chrysippus: ποτὲ δὲ τὸν Θεόγνιν ἐπανορθούμενος, οὐκ ἔδει, φησίν, εἰπεῖν, χρὴ πενήν φεύγοντα, μᾶλλον δὲ

χρὴ κακίαν φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς βαθυκῆτα πόντον  
ρίπτειν καὶ πετρῶν, Κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων<sup>1</sup>.

This is not a parody but a correction; it resembles Solon's answer to Mimnermus, or Theognis' treatment of lines from Tyrtaeus, with this difference, that while Solon and Theognis gave their corrections a place in their poetry, Chrysippus made his in conversation or in a prose treatise, not intending the poem as amended to have an independent existence. Bion again made a *reductio ad absurdum* of 177—8<sup>2</sup>: χαρίεν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βίωνος πρὸς τὸν Θεόγνιν λέγοντα

πᾶς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενίῃ δεδμημένος οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν  
οὔθ' ἔρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δὲ οἱ δέδεται—

πῶς οὖν σὺ πένης ὦν φλυαρεῖς τοσαῦτα καὶ καταδολεσχεῖς ἡμῶν; Many such criticisms of Theognis were made by the Stoics, Bion and others. But these are not parodies, nor were they likely to lead to parodies. What we are entitled to demand from Welcker is proof that parodies or satirical comments have ever attached themselves to the works of the author at whom they were aimed, or taken the place of genuine lines. His only example is this<sup>3</sup>: “Bacchylidis versus<sup>4</sup> *θνατοῖσι μὴ φῦναι φέριστον μῆτ' ἀελίου προσιδεῖν* φέγγος Ursinus in codice Stobaei<sup>5</sup> ita in contrarium immutatos invenit: *θνατοῖς μὲν φῦναι φέριστον καὶ δ' ἀελίου φίος ἔρος προσιδεῖν*.” But this is merely the eccentricity of one unimportant manuscript. There may be a few things of this kind in Greek and Latin literature<sup>6</sup>; but is there a

<sup>1</sup> See Theognis 175—6.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν*, 22 A.

<sup>3</sup> P. lxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> v. 160—2, Kenyon.

<sup>5</sup> xcvi. 27.

<sup>6</sup> In Lucretius Lachmann, Munro and others strike out iii. 743 as a sarcastic gloss.



single case in which parodies have been systematically and of set purpose woven into an author's work?

With regard to Theognis we know as a matter of fact of one other parody besides that of 215—6. Hesychius *sub verbo* Πολυπαίδης· παρώδηται ἐκ τῶν Θεόγνιδος βόμβων ἐπαινῆσω, "ubi," says Bergk, "scribendum videtur Βόλβον ἐπαινῆσω, Πολυπαίδη, quod sive comici sive parodi alicuius velut Cratetis est." But this of course does not appear in our manuscripts.

There is then no evidence to prove it likely or possible that poems written in ridicule of Theognis should have been incorporated in any considerable number with his genuine poems. The thing is in itself not much more probable than that one of J. K. Stephen's or Owen Seaman's parodies should be included in the poems of Swinburne or Browning. Of course a few such sarcasms may have been written in the margin and later given a place by accident in the text. But what Welcker sees is a deliberate system of insertion, and for this he can give neither parallel nor proof.

It remains to examine one by one the passages which he prints under the heading Παρωδίαι.

The first is 1161—2, which he thinks a parody of 409—10. In 409—10 A and O read:

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶ καταθήσει ἄμεινω  
αἰδοῦς ἢ τ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρν', ἔπεται.

In 1161—2 A reads:

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶν καταθήσειν ἄμεινον,  
αἰτοῦσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, δίδου—

where the other manuscripts have καταθήσειν παισὶν. Such a use of the future infinitive is impossible. Since A is by far the best manuscript it is fair to assume that καταθήσειν παισὶν is due to a transposition made for the metre's sake, and that παισὶν καταθήσειν is nearer the truth. The obvious emendation is καταθήσει, whereby 1161 becomes identical with 409. The couplet thus produced would mean: "Thou wilt do better to lay by no treasure for thy children; but give to good men, Cyrrus, when they ask." But καταθήσει

ἄμεινον in the sense ἄμεινον ἔσται σοι καταθεμένῳ is doubtful, and the change from the future to the imperative is awkward. The question is complicated by the fact that Stobaeus, xxxi. 16, has

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν καταθήσεαι ἔνδον ἀμείνω  
αἰδοῦς ἦν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, δίδως—

“thou wilt store up in thine house no better treasure than the mercy (or reverence) that thou shewest to good men”—which agrees with neither version. From all this it is probable that the corruption of our manuscripts is deep seated. But even if we accept with Welcker the reading of the inferior manuscripts, we have not a parody properly so called, but a variation of the language accompanied by a change of meaning. Theognis thus varies lines of Solon, Tyrtaeus and others; and if he deals thus with others' poems, why could he not do the same with his own?

Welcker's next parody is 1353—6, over which he prints 301—2. They are neither a parody of 301—2 nor a variation upon their theme, but an entirely different sentiment couched in language which resembles them only in one line. *πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνής* expresses “bitter-sweet” (the “*dulcis-amarus*” of Virgil's third Eclogue) as well as it could be expressed, and so Theognis uses these words as a sort of formula, just as *εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι θεοί* is used both in 540 and in 554; just as *ὅπόσους ἥλιος καθορᾷ* of 850 resembles *ἥλιος καθορᾷ* of 616. The same is true of *πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον*, with which compare *πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον* in 124 and *τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀνιηρότατον* in 812. To speak of parody in such a connexion is to misuse the word<sup>1</sup>.

The same is true of the resemblance between lines 1238

<sup>1</sup> It is comforting to find this explanation of 301 and 1353 given by a recent writer, F. Cauer (*Philologus* n.f. iv. 1891, p. 530, n. 1): “Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass Theognis dieselben Antithesen (bitter und süß, liebenswürdig und grausam) für zwei verschiedene Gedanken verwandt hat, das eine Mal, um das richtige Verhalten gegen Dienstboten und Nachbarn zu bezeichnen, das andere Mal, um die Qualen und Genüsse des Eros zu schildern.”

and 1086. A formula appears in both, but they are not otherwise related.

Over 1365—6 Welcker prints 1049—50. The lines may be allowed to speak for themselves.

237—54 form a complete poem. "I have given thee wings, Cynrus, wherewith thou shalt fly over sea and land...; thou shalt be a theme for song while earth and sun remain. And yet thou shewest me no respect, but beguilest me with words as if I were a little child." Here, as in a well-written epigram, the sting of the poem is in its tail. The description of the fame which Theognis has given to Cynrus only leads up to the complaint of the last couplet. This couplet Welcker regards as a sarcastic addition, and prints apart among the parodies. By this proceeding he makes the poem lame and impotent. To what does σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ of 237 answer if not to αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ σεῦ of 253? But the best argument against Welcker is to read the poem<sup>1</sup>.

Over 1105—6 Welcker prints 415—8. The only resemblance is that the metaphor of gold and lead and the touchstone appears in both poems expressed in similar and yet different language.

Welcker does not say from what his three next passages, 371—2, 503—8, 1345—50, are parodied. The first he rejects presumably because it is more in keeping with the Μοῦσα παιδική than with the gnomes among which it stands; the second because it is a confession of drunkenness unworthy of Theognis; the third for no apparent reason, unless it be that it is addressed to Simonides.

Over 577—8 Welcker prints 845—6. In 577 Schneider's ῥήιον is probably right; but whether we read ῥήδιον or ῥήιον, the two poems are not connected in thought. In 577 κακόν and ἐσθλόν are presumably masculine; only when the couplet

<sup>1</sup> The arguments advanced by certain scholars against the unity of this poem could convince nobody who did not approach the question prejudiced by the belief (which will be considered later) that our text is a medley of fragments. Reitzenstein (p. 269, note) dismisses their refinements with a warning of the danger of applying to the Megarian poet "die Grundsätze der Bentley'schen Horazkritik."

is put immediately after 845—6 does it become natural to take them as neuter. 577—8 mean: "It is easy to make a good man bad or a bad man good"—or "it is easier to make a good man bad than a bad man good"—; "teach me not; I am not of years to learn." 845—6 mean: "It is a light matter to turn a man's good fortune into bad"—or, if we read *ἀνδρὶ*, "it is a light matter for a man to turn good fortune into bad"—, "but a hard to turn bad fortune into good." *εὖ κείμενον ἄνδρα*, a man well situated, or *εὖ κείμενον*, a thing that is well situated, is very different from *ἐσθλόν* or *κακόν*, a man of good or bad character. Thus *μή με δίδασκ'* cannot refer to 845—6<sup>1</sup>.

Over 1037—8 Welcker prints 1219—20. Here again there is no connexion of thought. The one couplet says, "It is hard to beguile a foe, easy to beguile a friend"; the other, "It is hardest to beguile a good man, as I have long been convinced." By being put together they get a spurious resemblance to one another; but our text does not put them together.

Over 1041—2 Welcker prints 1217—8. Here we certainly have a contradiction. But 1041—2 refer to a particular case, while 1217—8 are general. If a later writer had wished to parody 1217—8 he would have kept much nearer to their language, thus:

*δεῦρο παρὰ κλαίοντα καθεζόμενοι γελάσωμεν,  
κήδεσι τοῖς κείνου, Κύρν', ἐπιτερπόμενοι.*

It would be more plausible to take 1217—8 as a correction of 1041—2, made in the spirit of Chrysippus or Bion. But Theognis must be permitted to be inconsistent. He is not a cold-blooded moralist, drawing up a complete and ordered scheme of wisdom, but a man of affairs and a man of feeling who says what comes to his mind.

Over 1181—2 Welcker prints 823—4. A careful examination of these two aphorisms will shew that they are not

<sup>1</sup> The antithesis of *εὖ* and *κακῶς* in 846 makes *κακῶς* almost certain in 845. A, however, has *καλῶς*, which gives a plausible oxymoron. With *καλῶς* there would be even less connexion between 845—6 and 577—8 than with *κακῶς*.

contradictory but complementary to each other. 823—4 mean: "Neither further a tyrant's cause in hope of gain, nor slay him if thou art bound by pledge"; in other words, do not make common cause with a tyrant, but, on the other hand, if you are pledged to him, do not break your oath. *θεῶν ὄρκια συνθέμενος* must be conditional or it is meaningless—a consideration which Welcker seems to have overlooked. 1181 begins with a *δέ*, so that it is natural to join this couplet, if possible, with what precedes. 1179—82 will then mean: "Honour and fear the gods; Cynrus, for that keepeth a man from doing or saying things unholy; but to lay low as thou wilt a people-eating tyrant is no sin towards the gods." If 823—4 are looked at in the light of these lines it becomes doubly clear that what 824 condemns is not the murder of a tyrant but the breaking of an oath sworn in the name of the gods. Thus here again we have a particular and a general counsel. 823—4 are for the benefit of those who are pledged by oath to a bad cause, 1181—2 of those who are bound only by the common principles of godliness.

### III.

The third kind of foreign matter which Welcker banishes from the text is "epigrammata, quae quod certas quasdam personas, locos, casus, tempora spectant, a gnomis necessario ablegantur." He remarks that except for six lines cited by Athenaeus, two of which do not appear in our manuscripts, none of these poems is anywhere quoted. He notices, however, an exception to this rule.

*Τιμαγόρα, πολλῶν ὀργὴν ἀπάτερθεν ὀρῶντι  
γινώσκειν χαλεπόν, καίπερ ἔοντι σοφῷ.  
οἱ μὲν γὰρ κακότητι κατακρύψαντες ἔχουσι  
πλούτῳ, τοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν οὐλομένην πενίῃ.*

Of this poem, 1059—62, the second couplet appears in Stobaeus, xcvi. 9, under the lemma *Θεόγνιδος*. Why does not Stobaeus quote the first couplet also? Because it was

not to his purpose, for his ninety-seventh chapter is headed Πενίας ψόγος. Welcker says of the second couplet<sup>1</sup>: "sententia Theognidi a Stobaeo adscripta loco fortasse non suo annexa est. Certe epigrammatarius non apte illa (ut Theognis ipse 209 Mimnermi aliqua, incertus 1155—60 Tyrtaei quibusdam<sup>2</sup>) usus foret; quum κακότης et ἀρετή ad genus et conditionem pertineant, ὀργή autem animum significet." Around the meaning of κακότης, ἀρετή, δειλός, ἐσθλός and the like in Theognis has raged a controversy into which it is not necessary to enter here. Suffice it to say that these words have not lost their moral significance in Theognis. It is a mistake to treat them as denoting no more than political or social distinctions. When Theognis applies ἀγαθός, ἀρετή and the like to men of high birth, like a true aristocrat he credits his class with superior moral worth. If ἀγαθοί is to be taken as the *name* of a class, then 111—2 for instance are a play upon words, and one which Theognis repeats an intolerable number of times. In countless cases it is clear that these words have a purely moral significance, for instance in 579 and in 435—8. On Welcker's theory 435—8 should mean: "If wisdom could be made and inserted in a man, no nobleman would ever have a commoner for his son; but no teaching will turn a commoner into a nobleman."

Thus Welcker's objection to 1059—62 falls to the ground. The first couplet might stand by itself, but it would be very weak; while the addition of the second makes a complete poem quite in the manner of Theognis. There is then no reason for breaking up this poem. It follows that Stobaeus had one of Welcker's "epigrammata" in his text. The fact that Stobaeus quotes from only one of these personal poems, and then omits the couplet which contains the address, suggests to Welcker's mind that they were absent from his text of Theognis. But the reason why Stobaeus quotes only this couplet is simple: it is the only couplet of the "epi-

<sup>1</sup> P. 130, note on 1033 (1061 in the ordinary numeration).

<sup>2</sup> 209=795 Bekker, 1155—60=933—8 Bekker. As I have said already, the sentence between the brackets is a strange admission for Welcker to make.

grammata" which was suited to his purpose, as may be seen by reading them as they stand on pages 56—9 of Welcker's edition. We must not expect the author of a gnostic anthology to make use of a *προπεμπτικόν* like 691—2, of a challenge to a contest like 993—6, of abusive or reproachful poems like 453—6 or 599—602, of allegories or riddles like 257—60, 861—4, 949—54, 1229—30. In 1169, it is true, we have the gnome *ἐκ καχεταιρίης κακὰ γίνεται*; but it is spoilt for the purpose of Stobaeus by the personal reproach contained in the following words:

εὖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς  
γνώση, ἐπεὶ μεγάλους ἤλιτες ἀθανάτους.

As with Stobaeus, so with the other authors who quote Theognis. It is the gnostic poems with which they are concerned. This is far from surprising when we remember, first, that the non-gnostic poems are few, however much more interesting than the rest they may be to us; and secondly, that many of those who quote from him—Plato, the Stoics, Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom—had themselves a moral and didactic purpose in view. The authors who looked at Theognis from any other standpoint, as Eratosthenes from the historian's, Athenaeus from the curiosity-hunter's, quote from him allusions to persons and places; but since such authors are rare in Theognis' case, the quotations from his allusive poems are few.

The only remaining reason for rejecting the "epigrammata" is that Theognis is generally spoken of as a gnostic poet, and that *Γνωμολογία* and *Ἱποθήκαι* are given as titles for his poems. But the *predominant* character of his poetry is gnostic, and it cannot be proved that he was ever regarded as gnostic throughout, uniformly and unchangingly. As for the titles, they have no authority. Our manuscripts do not recognize them. A has simply *θεόγνιδος ἐλεγείων α'*, O has *ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τοῦ θεόγνιδος ὃς διὰ στίχων ἠρωελεγείων*; one of the inferior manuscripts has *θεόγνιδος γνῶμαι: μᾶλλον θεόγνιδος γνωμολογία πρὸς κύρνον πολυπαίδην τὸν ἐρώμενον*, and the rest have equally arbitrary titles. In Suidas and

Eudocia γνωμολογία and ὑποθήκαι are used in a way which suggests descriptions rather than titles. Plato in the *Meno*, when he wants to locate a quotation, uses only a distinction dependent on metre. In fact, titles are generally to be treated with suspicion in the case of early Greek writers, especially where several titles compete with one another as in Thucydides. Theognis cannot have felt much need for a title; and when titles were first given to his poetry, they were naturally chosen in accordance with the character of the majority of the poems.

The internal evidence against these poems is mostly geographical. We know too little about Theognis to say where he cannot have been, but we know at least that he wandered far and saw the towns of many men.

#### IV.

Welcker's fourth class is "convivalia carmina, vel juvenilem hilaritatem spirantia vel licentiosa, quorum indoles a gnomis omnino abhorret"; and he prints a hundred and ten lines under the heading Συμποτικά. In some of them, he says, as in 567, 877, 977—8, the poet speaks as a young man; in 1122 as a rich man—but here Welcker is wrong, for 1119—22 are a prayer, and the verbs are in the optative throughout. In no poem does Theognis speak as a rich man; and though he speaks to Cyrnus as a father to a son (1049), and as one to whom years have brought the philosophic mind, he nowhere appears as an *old* man; for even in 1009—10, 1020—2, and other similar passages (none of which Welcker recognizes as the work of Theognis), it is the prospect rather than the presence of old age that distresses him. And it is unreasonable to confine the literary activity of Theognis to any one period of his life. Even if it be admitted that some of the Συμποτικά necessarily belong to a young man or a man in the prime of life, that is no reason for banishing them from Theognis. Nor must it be supposed that the poems of his youth would stand at the head of the volume, as Tennyson's *Juvenilia* do; for whatever the principle on which our



collection was arranged, it was certainly not by chronological order throughout.

A passage of Eustathius quoted by Welcker shews how the gnomic and erotic and abusive poems of Theognis are connected—by their use at banquets. Speaking of σκόλια he says<sup>1</sup> that they are τὰ μὲν σκωπτικά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἔρωτα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ σπονδαῖα. If we add praise or blame of wine, this is a fairly accurate description of the poems of Theognis. The poems addressed to Cyrnus were used at banquets, as Theognis himself tells us in 239—43. Similarly poems of Bias, Chilon, Solon and others were used as σκόλια. If Theognis wrote one class of σκόλια, may he not have written others?

## V.

Welcker distinguishes Κύρνος from Πολυπαῖδης, and accordingly supposes that Theognis wrote two bodies of gnomic poetry. This has no bearing on the question of foreign matter in the text, but it will be convenient to discuss it here.

Welcker's reason for regarding Κύρνος and Πολυπαῖδης as different persons is that Πολυπαῖδη always stands alone and is never combined with Κύρνε, and that patronymics are not so used: "sed utrumque nomen semper, quantum scio, et in deorum invocationibus et in hominum alloquiis, conjunctum invenitur, ut Γλαῦκε Λεπτινεω παῖ, Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαι apud Archilochum, Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδεῖδη apud Herodotum, Στροΐβου παῖ, τόδ' ἄγαλμα, Λεώκρατες apud Anacreontem," and so on. Yet Solon addresses Mimnermus as Λιγυστάδης, which is clearly a patronymic<sup>2</sup>; and Pindar, in *Pythian* v. 45, has Ἀλεξιβιάδα, though the personal name Ἀρκεσίλα has not occurred since line 5 and does not occur again till line 103<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Odys.* vii. p. 1574. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas says that Mimnermus' father was Λιγυρτιάδης, but that is probably a corruption. Suidas' explanation of Λιγυστάδης is childish.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Iliad* i. 17, 59, 122, 277, iv. 204, xiii. 307, etc.; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 54; Theognis 377; Pindar, *Olympian* vi. 80, xii. 13, xiii. 67; *Pythian* ii. 18, ix. 30; *Nemean* i. 29; *Isthmian* vii. 31.

This is enough to prove Welcker's principle false. Few scholars follow him in this matter to-day<sup>1</sup>. But besides the advantage of settling the question once and for all, this investigation will reveal another trace of reasonable arrangement in our text.

Πολυπαῖδη occurs first in line 25. Lines 1,—18 are four poems addressed to gods: the first two to Phoebus, the third to Artemis, the fourth to the Muses and Graces. These may be regarded as a sort of preface. Just as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* begin with addresses to the Muse, Lucretius with an address to Venus, and Aratus with Zeus, so Theognis begins with the patron of gnomic poetry, with his sister Artemis, the chief deity of Megara, and with the Muses and Graces, the givers of poetic charm. Then his very next word, Κύρνε, gives the name of the friend to whom a large part of his poetry is addressed; and, as if for completeness' sake, in the same poem he calls him also Πολυπαῖδη, just as the first line of the *Iliad* gives both the personal name and the patronymic of the chief character. Thus the poet seems to take the first opportunity of establishing the identity of Cynos and the son of Polypaus. After calling him simply Κύρνε in the next few poems, he repeats the double address in 53—60. In the next poem we have Πολυπαῖδη only, and it stands alone several times after this, though Κύρνε, the shorter and therefore the more generally convenient form, is far the commoner. Only once again, in 183—92, do the two occur in the same poem.

This argument of course assumes the unity of three sets of lines, 19—26, 53—60, 183—92. If any one of these sets will not admit of division, then Κύρνος and Πολυπαῖδης are the same<sup>2</sup>. Welcker, rather than identify Κύρνος and Πολυπαῖδης, breaks up these poems, giving 25—6, 57—60, 191—2

<sup>1</sup> E. Hiller in *Bursian* liv. p. 140: "Übrigens zweifelt, soviel mir bekannt, an der Identität von Κύρνος und Πολυπαῖδης gegenwärtig sonst" (i.e. except Sitzler) "niemand mehr."

<sup>2</sup> Graefenhan (*Theognis Theognideus*, p. 35) does not regard this as a necessary consequence. But the poet could not possibly have turned from the one to the other in the course of a short poem. Such a change would be absurd.

as separate fragments. But 25—6 by themselves can only mean: "Nothing is wonderful, Polypaides, for Zeus himself never sends weather which pleases all alike." Differences of opinion concerning the weather are not so rare that all other marvels seem small beside them. If 57—60 are taken apart, the question arises: *Who* are now good? The first sentence is meaningless without what precedes it in our text. In 191—2, again, οὕτω has no meaning apart from what precedes<sup>1</sup>, unless indeed Welcker would take it closely with θαύμαζε—"do not thus wonder"—which is both unlikely in itself and against the order of the words. None of these passages presents any difficulty if it is taken with what precedes it in the manuscripts<sup>2</sup>. Let us examine one at greater length.

If with Welcker we break off 25—6 from what precedes, the end of the poem 19—24 may be translated thus: "...and thus shall each man say: 'Theognis wrote these lines, Theognis of Megara.' But renowned though I am among all mankind, never yet have I contrived to please all my fellow-townsmen." Such an ending is weak in English and perhaps even weaker in the Greek. 23—4 are very similar to 367—8: "I cannot understand my fellow-townsmen's mind, for I please them neither by my good things nor by my bad." He does not leave off with this confession, but proudly goes on—"but though many inveigh against me, bad and good alike, none of the unwise can imitate me." So in 19—26 he does not end with a confession of failure, but justifies himself by a proud comparison with Zeus. "But renowned though I am among all mankind, never yet have I contrived to please all my fellow-townsmen. No wonder, Polypaides; for not Zeus himself pleaseth all either with his

<sup>1</sup> There is an exactly similar use of οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε in 1349.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of 191—2, those who ascribe the whole of the passage in Stobaeus to Xenophon must infer that in Xenophon's text 191—2 were joined with 183—90; for though the actual quotation only goes down to 190, the words κῆρα γίγνεσθαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων κάκιον αἰετὶ μὲνόμενον τὸ χεῖρον τῷ βελτίονι are clearly a paraphrase of γένος...ἀστών μαυροῦσθαι· σὺν γὰρ μίσγεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖς. But it has been shewn above that the end of the passage is probably a late production—perhaps later than the latest date to which the supposed compiler of our collection has been assigned.

rain or with his sunshine." The poem is complete and could not be better turned. By cutting off the last couplet, here as in 237—54, Welcker robs the epigram of its sting.

Lines 19—26 then go together. It follows that Cyrnus and Polypaides are one, and that Welcker is wrong in distinguishing two bodies of gnomic poetry addressed to two different persons<sup>1</sup>.

## VI.

Lastly, Welcker sets aside the *Musa Puerilis*. This part of our text is in many ways distinct from the rest. It is found only in one manuscript. Almost all of it deals with a subject which is not prominent in the first book. The name Πολυπαίδης never occurs in it; Κύρνος once only, and then in a poem which is out of place. Not a single line of the Μούσα παιδική is quoted in any Greek writer, and to all appearances it was unknown from the time of Plato to the time of Suidas<sup>2</sup>. Those who think that the first book is arranged by catchwords do not extend them to the second. Altogether this question is so different from the other problems in Theognis that for the present it had better be postponed.

And so much (as *Tristram Shandy* saith) for tearing out of chapters.

<sup>1</sup> Welcker and Sitzler make vain attempts to find a meaning for Κύρνος as a common noun. A hero Κύρνος is mentioned in Herodotus i. 167. Herwerden (*Mnemosyne*, n.s. xii. 1884, p. 294) thinks Κύρνος a fictitious name: "nimis fortuitum videtur, eundem hominem nobilem simul dominum et divitis filium appellatum in suo paternoque nomine duplex omen coniunxisse." The coincidence would not be very remarkable, even if it were an established fact that κύρνος meant "dominus," which it is not; on the contrary Photius tells us that κύρνοι was a name given in Macedonia to οἱ σκότριοι, that is οἱ λάθρα γεννηθέντες τῶν γυναικῶν τῆς κόρης.

K. Müller asks how it comes, if Kyrnos and Polypaides are one and the same, that Theognis does not use Πολυπαίδης in poems where Κύρνε or Κύρν' occurs twice or thrice. The poems in which both Κύρνε and Πολυπαίδης occur are a sufficient answer to this question; but it should not be forgotten that a word of five syllables was a less convenient stopgap than a word of two or one.

<sup>2</sup> There may be a reference to 1362 in Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1342—3.

## CHAPTER III.

### WELCKER'S THEORY OF THE GENESIS OF THE TEXT.

HAVING removed so much, Welcker goes on to consider what is left. Sylburg and Heyne had thought it a selection from the full form of Theognis; but Welcker accepts Heyne's later judgment, with Wassenbergh and Epkema, and holds that after the complete Theognis had vanished somebody gathered together as many remnants of it as he could find in later authors and anthologies, and so produced a collection which was afterwards expanded into our text. In support of this opinion he appeals to the witness of Xenophon and of the *Meno*, to lines 19—24, to the repetitions, and to the traces of patchwork in the order of the poems. We have done with Xenophon and Plato, but the rest of his evidence must now be examined.

#### § 1. *Lines 19—24.*

Of lines 19—24 Welcker says: "qui vero clausulae imponendae unice apti sunt versus, eos, qui Theognideum librum reconcinnare studuit, ut operi ab ipso condito quodammodo pro lemmate essent, in fronte posuit statim post epigrammata, quibus invocationem deorum in epica poesi sollennem imitari voluisse videtur<sup>1</sup>." To this opinion he was led by the use of the word *σφρηγίς* in 19. About the meaning of *σφρηγίς* scholars have contended, and the case is still in court; but of that hereafter. As for Welcker, has he not been misled by

<sup>1</sup> P. ciii.

the modern use of the seal at the end of documents? But this use is only a conservative survival. The original purpose of the seal was to fasten up (say a letter) on the outside, and so σφραγίς, σφραγίζω, σφράγισμα are regularly used in Greek. If one wished to insist on this point one might argue that though the seal comes last to the writer of a letter, to the reader it comes first, and that Theognis says not σφρηγίδ' ἐπιθήσω but σφρηγίς ἐπικείσθω, where the passive naturally suggests the point of view of the *reader*. But this would be hypercritical. All that need be insisted on is that from the use of σφρηγίς in a *metaphor* no inference so precise as Welcker's can be drawn. And we have already seen a reason why Theognis may have chosen to put this poem at the head of his volume, in that it contains both his own name and the two names under which he addresses Cyrnus; and also, it may be added, an indication, in σοφίζομένω, of the predominant character of the book. Moreover, even if 19—26 were uniquely fit to end the volume, 19—24 are uniquely unfit, since they are a confession of failure. But even if 19—26 are taken together, as they must be, the militant spirit of the last lines is not what we look for at the end of a book.

## § 2. *The Repetitions.*

"Tot intextae sunt gnomarum Theognidearum repetitiones paulum variatae, tot etiam aliorum poetarum elegiacorum versus, ut multo minus probabile sit, haec omnia paulatim ab aliis appicta, quam primitus a librario undecunque coacta et corrasa esse."

The verses which appear to belong to other poets have been considered above. The passages in which Theognis seems to repeat himself fall into two classes: first, those which shew some variation of language; second, those that shew no variation or very little. A good instance of the first class is in 115—6 and 643—4. 115—6: "Many are a man's companions in meat and drink, but fewer in a matter of

moment." 643—4: "Many become dear companions over their cups, but fewer in a matter of moment." There is a clear difference of meaning between the two couplets. The first comes just after poems describing the baseness and ingratitude of the δειλοί or κακοί, and is followed by poems which complain of the difficulty of knowing men's hearts. 107—8: "Sow the sea, and thou wilt reap no rich crop; do good to bad men, and thou wilt get no good in return." 117—8: "Nothing is harder or worth more heed<sup>1</sup> than to discover a counterfeit man." In this context 115—6 naturally mean that many are willing to make what they can out of a man who will desert him in his hour of need. They clinch the accusation of ingratitude which the preceding lines have brought against the δειλοί. 643—4 on the other hand come after lines which enjoin the necessity of careful judgment in important affairs. 631—6: "Let not temper prevail over reason. Think twice and thrice, for the tempestuous man comes to harm. Judgment and mercy belong to good men, but good men are few nowadays." 639—40: "Often the works of men go well against thought and hope, and of counsels is no fulfilment." 641—2: "Thou canst not tell friend from foe until thou meetest with a grave matter." Following this, lines 643—4 mean that in the excitement of wine men make hasty pledges of friendship of which they repent when an important matter is on hand. Thus the two couplets in question seem to mean the same only when they are looked at together and apart from their contexts. It is the context which gives a new meaning to old words, here as in 1253—4.

It is worth notice that neither 115—6 nor 643—4 are anywhere quoted, though 115 is imitated in line 92 of the Pseudophocylidea.

A similar explanation may be given for each of the other semi-repetitions.

<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ἐδλαβίης ἐστὶ περὶ πλέονος, which has been much emended, is completely justified by the analogy of περὶ πολλοῦ etc. Bergk thinks περὶ superfluous, and quotes from Euenus i. 6 ῥᾶσθη εἰσι διδασκαλίας: but there the genitive does not denote *valus*.

39—42 :

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἥδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκῃ ἄνδρα  
εὐθυντῆρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης<sup>1</sup>.  
ἄστοι μὲν γὰρ ἔθ' οἷδε σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ  
τετράφεται πολλὴν ἐς κακότητα πεσεῖν.

In 1081—1082 *b* we have the same poem with the change of ἔθ' οἷδε to ἔασι and the following line in place of the first pentameter :

ὕβριστήν, χαλεπῆς ἡγεμόνα στάσιος.

The difference of wording answers to a difference of meaning. The first poem refers to the fear of a tyrant, the second to the fear of a violent party-leader. Theognis doubtless intended by the partial repetition to recall the first poem to the minds of the readers of the second, and the implied meaning is : "As once I warned this city of the danger of a tyrant, so now, under more or less similar circumstances, I warn it of the danger of a violent party-leader."

57—60 are in part the same as 1109—14 ; but the second version differs from the first by as many changes as could be made without altering the general cast of the language, and the thought is expanded by the insertion of a new couplet. It is this new couplet which justifies the semi-repetition. In the first case Theognis complains of the ill effects of the admission of serfs to the citizenship ; in the second he complains of no change so violent, but only of the rottenness of society and the overthrow of social conventions and distinctions<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In 40 A alone has ἡμετέρης, the other manuscripts ὕμετέρης. A's reading must be preferred, since no reason for the change of ὕμετέρης to ἡμετέρης suggests itself, while the opposite change may have been caused either by assimilation with the first letter of ὕβριος or by a desire to rid Theognis of the self-condemnation which ὕβριος ἡμετέρης seems to imply. Moreover A is the best and oldest manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Note in passing that whatever may be the case with κακοί, the comparative κακίους (in 1111) cannot be the name of a class, any more than one could speak of "the more Tory party" in contrast to the Whigs.

For the construction μνηστεύει ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ compare 189 : ἐκ κακοῦ ἐσθλὸς ἐγήμεν καὶ κακὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ.



211—2 (a maxim about wine) are almost identical with 509—10. But while the former couplet stands among others of a very miscellaneous character, the latter ends a set of at least four poems all referring to wine; it is the envoy, so to speak, of the descriptive poem 503—8.

Naturally enough, more than two forms of the gnome are quoted in later writers, parts of the one couplet being combined with parts of the other.

Note that 211—2 should not be translated as if *κακὸν ἀγαθόν*, neuters, stood in the pentameter. "To drink much wine is bad; but if a man drinks it wisely it is not a bad wine but a good." That seems to be the meaning, though the Greek, having genders to its adjectives, expresses it more neatly. It is not strictly logical; but probably Theognis was illogical of set purpose, meaning to suggest that it matters more how much a man drinks than what sort of wine. It is much as if Cyrnus had asked Theognis to recommend him a good wine, and Theognis had answered "Half a bottle."<sup>1</sup>

In 213—8 Theognis counsels his heart<sup>2</sup> to adapt itself to its company; to imitate the polypus, which changes its colour to match the rock whereon it lies. To the first and third couplets 1071—4 bear a close resemblance: but the second version is addressed, not to the poet's heart, but to Cyrnus; the polypus has vanished, "mood" appears in place of "colour" and "man" in place of "rock." The chief change, however, is in the last words, the most emphatic position of all. In the last line of the first passage Theognis says that "wisdom," that is to say worldly wisdom, is better than uncompromising

<sup>1</sup> The possibility that Theognis may have *intended* to be illogical has escaped F. Cauer (*Philologus* n. f. iv. 1891, p. 532). A simpler explanation, as Professor Jebb points out to me, is to suppose that *κακός* means 'bad in its effects': 'it is not a foe, but a friend.'

<sup>2</sup> In 213 A alone has *θυμέ*, the other manuscripts *Κόρνε*: in 1071 all have *Κόρνε*. To read *Κόρνε* in both places, as the editors do, is to disregard a fundamental principle of textual criticism. If *Κόρνε* was original, no reason for its corruption to *θυμέ* appears; while the opposite change is due to a very natural assimilation of the two versions, in which the common address to Cyrnus prevailed. We shall find other evidence of the action of a second version upon a first.

inflexibility (*ἀτροπίης*); in the last line of the second, with an increase of cynicism, he says that it is better *even* than conspicuous merit (*καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς*). Doubtless he had the first version in his mind and was consciously amending it when he wrote the second. That explains why he shortened the poem and abandoned the metaphor of the polypus. He says in effect: "I told you once before that it is well to adapt yourself to your company, and that σοφίη is better than ἀτροπίη"—it was not necessary that he should add: "I illustrated this by the metaphor of the polypus."—"I wish now to repeat the advice. σοφίη is better even than ἀρετή."<sup>1</sup>

The graphic ungrammaticalness of 1072 is a merit and not a fault.

409—10:

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶ καταθήσει ἄμεινω  
αἰδοῦς, ἥ τ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρν', ἔπεται.

1161—2:

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶν καταθήσειν ἄμεινον,  
αἰτοῦσιν δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, δίδου.

This is the hardest problem among all these semi-repetitions; though whatever the second couplet meant originally it did not mean the same as the first.

The readings given are those of A. In 1161 A alone has *παισὶν καταθήσειν*, all the other manuscripts *καταθήσειν παισίν*. *καταθήσειν* cannot stand, whatever view we take of the couplet; for neither Theognis nor any editor of his

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of the dropping of the metaphor will perhaps appear fanciful; but to my mind the omission is characteristic of these amendments, as I have called them. Similarly in 1003—1012, where Theognis amends some lines of Tyrtæus, he borrows only so much as is necessary for his purpose, neglecting the amplifications which follow *ἐν προμάχοισι μένη*.

J. Heinemann (in *Hermes* xxxiv. p. 593) sees in *πολύπου* a pun upon *Πολυπαῖδος*. But if the poet premeditated this pun, he might at least have put *Πολυπαῖδη* in place of *Κύρνε*, and *πολύπου* in place of *πολύπου*. Again, Heinemann thinks that the polypus was cut out by the maker of the shorter version in order to give the poem a less personal and more general turn. But *Κύρνε* survives in the vulgarised version; the metaphor has its value apart from the pun; and it is rash to assume that knowledge of the polypus and its ways was confined to Cynus, or Megara, or the age of Theognis.

works or fragments who lived before the decadence of Greek could have written the future infinitive in a prolative sense after ἀμεινον<sup>1</sup>, or οὐδένα for μηδένα in an infinitive clause such as this. καταθήσειν being certainly corrupt it is better, other things equal, not to extend the seat of the corruption; and this, together with the general superiority of A, makes it probable that καταθήσειν παισιν is nothing but an inversion made with the object of patching up the metre. Moreover, if we assume that καταθήσειν is a mistake for καταθήσει, the addition of *νι* may have been due to assimilation with the ending of παισιν; and this assimilation would more easily take place if παισιν preceded than if it followed καταθήσει.

Regarded apart, 409—10 give a perfectly satisfactory sense. "No treasure wilt thou lay by for thy children, Cyrnus, better than respect, which cometh to good men." The relative with τε is used just as in Homer.

In 1161—2 some of the commentators see a corruption of 419—20. If so, the corruption is neither natural nor small<sup>2</sup>. Others suppose deliberate distortion: but who can have cared to foist upon Theognis a recommendation to Cyrnus to bequeath nothing to his children, but to spend all his substance in charity; and who can have imagined that this advice was expressed grammatically by the couplet which appears in our text? The question is complicated by a couplet in Stobaeus, xxxi. 16, which has something in common both with 409—10 and with 1161—2:

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν καταθήσειαι ἔνδον ἀμείνω  
αἰδοῦς, ἦν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, δίδως.

Hence Bergk suggests, with much ingenuity, that ΔΙΑΟΤ or ΔΙΑΩΣ may have come from ΑΙΑΟΤ or ΑΙΑΩΣ at the end of the following hexameter. But there is of course no evidence to shew that either of these words *did* stand at the end of the hexameter which followed 1162 in any form

<sup>1</sup> For the limits of the prolate future infinitive see Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, § 389, 5 b; Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 113.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the common confusion of the homophones η and ι, the supposed changes are δ to τ, τ to δ, and Κύρν' ἔρεται to Κύρνε δίδου.

of Theognis ; and the chance of any given word occurring in any given place is very slight.

But the best reason for defending 1162 is the excellent connexion which it gives with what follows, 1162 *a—f*, the “repetition” of 441—6. Where these lines first occur the γὰρ with which they begin may quite well refer to what precedes, 439—40. Can it equally well refer to 1161—2? Yes, if we keep the reading of the manuscripts in 1162. “...But give to good men, Cynus, when they ask. For no man is fortunate in all things; but....” If, on the other hand, we read αἰδοῦς, ἦν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, διδῶς with Bergk and Caer, the case is different. Bergk and Caer supply some such words as ἡ σοι ἔσται before ἦν, and take the couplet to mean: “No treasure wilt thou lay up for thy children, Cynus, better than the respect which thou wilt win if thou givest to good men.” But are they justified in supplying so much? The words naturally mean: “Thou wilt lay up for thy children no better treasure than respect, Cynus, if thou givest to good men.” This Theognis cannot have meant. What would be wanted for such a sentiment is “if thou givest to all comers.” If we accept the reading of Stobaeus, αἰδοῦς ἦν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κύρνε, δίδως, the case is not much better. We must suppose that the poet was looking to the “lively expectation of favours to come” from the respect paid to good men; and if that was his meaning, one can only say that he has expressed it very ill. But neither Stobaeus’ reading nor Bergk’s gives any excuse for γὰρ. If γὰρ is to be explained—and it will be shewn hereafter that very few poems, if any, are introduced by particles which cannot be explained—no reading can stand in 1162 but that of the manuscripts.

But if 1162 is right, 1161 must be wrong. A genitive is wanted. The only word with which the line can dispense is παισιν. If the genuine word had fallen out, παισιν would naturally be supplied from 409; and from παισιν written over καταθήσει might come both the corruption καταθήσειν and the two positions of παισιν. Cutting out παισιν as an interpolation, what are we to put in its place? πλούτου

might serve. Of course *θησαυρόν* would be a silly word to use with *πλούτου* if this couplet stood alone; but if 1161—2 are regarded as an amendment of 409—10, the combination of *θησαυρόν* and *πλούτου* would give a good *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. 409: "The best treasure to lay up is respect." 1161: "The best treasure to lay up is—money."<sup>1</sup>

Bergk, Cauer and others attach importance to the couplet which appears in Stobaeus. But it is not likely that Theognis spoke of laying up as a treasure the respect which a man pays to others—such an idea could hardly have preceded Christianity—even if "to pay respect" could be expressed by *αἰδῶ διδόναι*, which is more than doubtful. If with Bergk we emend to *ἦν...διδῶς*, we have to read in too much, as we saw above. Perhaps the couplet of Stobaeus was produced from 409—10 partly by a conscious or unconscious reminiscence of 1161—2, partly by the ordinary processes of corruption.

Thus the similarity between 409—10 and 1161—2 reduces itself to a mere verbal echo such as we find elsewhere in Theognis<sup>2</sup>.

597 is all but identical with 1243, but 598 is very different from 1244. 597—8 are addressed to a personal enemy, the "fellow" of 595<sup>3</sup>; 1243—4 to the subject of the *Μούσα*

<sup>1</sup> Another possible substitute for *παισιν* is *τούτων*. The text is unusually corrupt in this part. In 1160*a* two lines have coalesced. 1157—8 are wanting in the manuscripts; but Stobaeus quotes 1157—60 together, and the first couplet is required both by the general sense of the second and in particular by *ὡς δ' αὖτως*. (The protasis of the analogy between wealth and wisdom is expressed briefly, but fully enough for a protasis. With the correspondence between *οὔτε* and *ὡς δ' αὖτως* compare *οὔτε...οὐδέ* and *οὔτε...δέ* in Herodotus.) If we suppose that further confusion has taken place, and that 1161 originally followed at once after 1160, *τούτων*, referring to *πλούτος καὶ σοφία*, would have much in its favour. When *τούτων* was left meaningless by the loss of 1157—8, *παισιν* might have been substituted from 409, and *ἀμείνω* might have been changed to *ἀμεινον* at the same time in order to produce some sort of sense. *δίδου*, which would be scarcely appropriate to wisdom alone, is appropriate enough to wisdom and wealth together. For the idea of sharing one's wisdom with others compare 769—72. For the singular *ἀμαχώτατον* with *πλούτος καὶ σοφία* compare 1267: *παῖς τε καὶ ἱππος ὁμοῖον ἔχει νόον*.

<sup>2</sup> This "repetition" is discussed by Bergk in his note on 1161—2, by Cauer in *Philologus* n. f. iv. pp. 537—8.

<sup>3</sup> *ἄνθρωποι*; compare *ἄνθρωποι* in 453.

παιδική. The hexameter is a set form of words, founded, it may be, on a colloquial idiom with which we are not acquainted<sup>1</sup>. In the same way convenient expressions are common to 168 and 850, 301 and 1353, 366 and 1030, 417 and 1105, 540 and 554, 593 and 657, 1152 and 1262.

We now come to the lines which were omitted by the editors before Hiller as identical repetitions of lines which precede them in the text<sup>2</sup>.

41—2 are repeated after 1082 with the change of ἔθ' οἷδε to ἔασι. The question of these lines is the same as the question of 39—40 and 1081—2, which was discussed above.

87—92 are a complete poem standing in the middle of a series of poems, 69—128, which advise a careful choice of friends. In 1082 c—1084 (that is, after the repetition of 39—42) A and O and seven other manuscripts repeat 87—90, with a new couplet in place of 91—2. O's readings are the same in the repetition as in 87—90, but A has ἄλλας for ἄλλη in 1082 c, ἀλλὰ for ἡ με in 1082 e, ἐμφανέως for ἀμφοδίην in 1082 f. In neither case can the third couplet reasonably be separated from the other two, for then there would be nothing to which δὲ in 91 and οὕτω in 1083 could refer. Thus we have two poems of three couplets each, the first and second being the same in both cases but for a few slight changes made for differentiation's sake, the third of the one quite different from the third of the other. This difference in the third couplet it is which justifies the semi-repetition. As to A's variants, there can be no doubt that A is right through-

<sup>1</sup> Bergk quotes the proverb τᾶλλα καὶ φιλώμεθα, and Phrynichus' explanation of it: παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις συγχωροῦντων, ἃ βούλονται τινας, ἐνὶ δὲ τινι μηκέτι· σημαίνει δὲ ὅλον· τᾶλλα φίλοι ὦμεν, κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο διαφερώμεθα. The force of καὶ and the difference between ἀπαρ τ' and ἐπειτ' might be represented thus. With ἀπαρ τ': "Let us be acquaintances—friends, if you prefer the word—for as long as you please; *only*, let us be friends at a distance." With ἐπειτ': "Second clause in the bargain, let us be friends at a distance."

<sup>2</sup> Ziegler gives them in an appendix. In Hiller's text and mine they are all restored to their proper places. Bekker made several mistakes in this matter, and later editors followed his lead. Thus it is not true that AO repeat 93—4 after 1082; and after 332 A repeats 209—10, not 211—2. See for example H. Schneidewin, *de syllogis Theognideis*, p. 9, notes 1 and 2.

out. Firstly, it is the oldest and by far the best manuscript. Secondly, if its readings are wrong they must be so by design and not by accident; for it is not likely that three such changes should have been made by accident in four lines. Thirdly, memory of 87—90 may have caused the scribe of O or an ancestor of O to emend the second passage accordingly. Corruption in O by assimilation is much more probable than corruption—at least such corruption as this—in A by differentiation.

Here then we have clearly a case in which *some* of the manuscripts have made two similar passages identical. This suggests that elsewhere in *all* the manuscripts the action of one poem on another may have produced greater similarity than Theognis designed.

All the variant readings are good in themselves. *ἀλλῃ* does as well as *ἄλλας*, *ἐμφανέως* as *ἀμφοδίην*; and though *ἀλλὰ* at the beginning of the third line is perhaps an improvement, the asyndeton of the first version is not in itself a fault. Bergk by an eclectic process adopts some of A's later readings in the first version, the only one which appears in his text; but this is unscientific, since he does not attempt to explain the variation.

97—100:

ἀλλ' εἶη τοιοῦτος ἐμοὶ φίλος, ὃς τὸν ἐταῖρον  
 γινώσκων ὀργὴν καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρει  
 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου. σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, ταῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
 φράζο, καὶ ποτέ μου μνήσσαι ἐξοπίσω.

These lines should certainly be joined with what precedes, as *ἀλλὰ* suggests. 93—6 are a caution against those who speak ill of a friend behind his back. Hartung would join the two passages, but supposes that a couplet has fallen out between. Surely this supposition is unnecessary. The contrast between the false friend who praises with his lips and condemns in his heart—*ὃς κ' εἶπη γλώσση λῶα, φρονὴ δ' ἕτερα*—, and the true friend who overlooks even real faults, is sufficiently clear and good.

After 1164 AO and seven other manuscripts repeat these

lines with the following changes: in the first line τοιοῦτός τοι<sup>1</sup> ἀνὴρ ἔστω φίλος, in the third τοῦτ' for ταῦτ'. Both these changes are appropriate to the new context. "A man of sense," say 1163—4, "will see and say and hear and think only what his heart bids him." After this follows naturally the sentiment: "A friend to be desired is he who bears with his comrade's faults of temper"; for he is just the man who must have eyes and tongue and ears and reason under control of his heart. Not that these two sentiments form one poem—1163—4 have all the look of a complete aphorism, and the next line does not begin with a connecting particle; but they are akin in thought and supplementary the one to the other. This explains the removal of ἀλλὰ, which would have been out of place. ταῦτ' may have been changed to τοῦτο because the plural was appropriate in the first place, where both a warning and a recommendation are given, the singular in the second, where the recommendation stands alone.

Thus here too Theognis has taken part of an old poem and adapted it by slight changes to a new context.

209—10:

οὐδεὶς τοι φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος·  
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἔστιν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότερον.

This stands in a set of miscellaneous gnomes, between a poem on avarice and a poem on wine. After 332 A alone gives the following couplet (332 *a b*):

οὐκ ἔστι φεύγοντι φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος·  
τῆς δὲ φυγῆς ἔστιν τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.

Has A inserted, or have the other manuscripts omitted? Certainly the latter. Probably the common ancestor of the other manuscripts omitted the couplet by a lipography easy to explain, since φεύγοντι of the hexameter would be directly above φεύγοντ' of 333. 333—4 look at friendship with an exile from the friend's point of view, 332 *a b* from the exile's. Thus 209—10 are repeated in order to contrast the two sides of the matter by juxtaposition. There is no reason to make

<sup>1</sup> O omits τοι.



the two versions identical. οὐδείς τοι is as good as οὐκ ἔστιν; and while no fault can be found with ἀνιηρότατον<sup>1</sup>, the comparative gives a different and somewhat finer sense: "and this friendlessness is more bitter than banishment itself." Bergk, Sitzler and others change 209—10 into identity with the second version. Clement of Alexandria<sup>2</sup>, it is important to notice, quotes the hexameter in its second form.

367—70:

οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον ἀστῶν, ὃν τιν' ἔχουσιν.  
οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς.  
μωμεῖνται δέ με πολλοί, ὁμῶς κακοὶ ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλοί,  
μιμείσθαι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀσώφων δύναται.

So the manuscripts. Bergk reads ἀστῶν δ' οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον from the second version, giving no reason for his conduct; but Ziegler, Studemund, H. Schneidewin and Cauer agree with him on the ground that a spondee is not found in Theognis before the bucolic diaeresis, and that therefore the form οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον ἀστῶν cannot be original. What are the facts? This rhythm is fairly common in Homer<sup>3</sup>. In the old elegists the following examples of it appear:

Tyrtæus

4. 7: μυθεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια  
Xenophanes

1. 13: χρή δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν εὐφρονας ἄνδρας  
1. 21: οὔτι μάχας διέπει Τιτῆνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων  
1. 23: ἡ στάσις σφεδανάς· τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔνεστιν

Theognis

- 147: ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετῇ 'στι<sup>4</sup>  
445: παντοῖαι θνητοῖσιν ἐπέρχοντ'. ἀλλ' ἐπιτολμᾶν  
695: οὐ δύναμαί σοι, θυμέ, παρασχεῖν ἄρμενα πάντα  
753: ταῦτα μαθὼν, φίλ' ἐταῖρε, δικαίως χρήματα ποιοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Cauer, however, thinks that the superlative gives a trivial sense. (As above, p. 531.)

<sup>2</sup> Στρωματεῖς vi. § 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* i. 384, ii. 363, 500, etc.

<sup>4</sup> This line, which is the same as Phocylides 17, is accepted as genuine by all the editors.

949: νεβρὸν ὑπὲξ ἐλάφοιο λέων ὥς ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς  
963: μή ποτ' ἐπαινήσης πρὶν ἂν εἰδῇς ἄνδρα σαφηνῶς  
1193: ἀσπάλαθοι δὲ τάπησιν ὁμοῖον στρώμα θανόντι.

These are about all the instances to be found in the early elegists, but they are quite enough to shew that Theognis could use this rhythm when he wished. The ear does not condemn οὐ δύναμαι γινῶναι νόον ἀστῶν ὃν τιν' ἔχουσιν<sup>1</sup>; and though the diaeresis there coincides with the beginning of a relative clause, yet the pause is very slight, much slighter than the pause in 445. Moreover, if οὐ δύναμαι γινῶναι νόον ἀστῶν was the original form, Theognis when he wanted to add an adversative particle was bound to write ἀστῶν δ' οὐ δύναμαι γινῶναι νόον: whereas if the latter had been the original form, the δέ could have been retained or removed without change in the order of the words.

The couplet is repeated after 1184 with ἀστῶν δ' οὐ δύναμαι. Brunck was no doubt right in thinking that it should be joined to 1183—4, as δ' suggests. "There is no man under the sun over whose head censure does not hang; but I cannot understand my fellow-townsmen's mind, for neither my good things nor my bad please them." Some men are too good or too bad, too wise or too foolish for their fellows: how is it that Theognis cannot please, being both good and bad, both wise and foolish? The next two lines, 1185—6, supplement this poem, though they are not a part of it, by suggesting that he is not after all the happy mean but a rare combination of clear head and ready tongue.

Thus here again Theognis has fitted part of an old poem into a new setting.

415—8:

οὐδέν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὐρεῖν  
πιστὸν ἐταῖρον, ὅτφ μή τις ἔνεστι δόλος·  
ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατρίβομαι ὥστε μολίβδφ  
χρυσός, ὑπερτερύης δ' ἄμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος.

The last word is λόγος in A only, νόος in the rest. After

<sup>1</sup> Its rhythm is very like that of Xenophanes i. 13.

1163—4 AO and seven other manuscripts "repeat" 97—100; and after that AO "repeat" 415—8 in this form (1164 *e—h*):

οὕτιν' ὁμοῖον ἐμοὶ δύναμαι διζήμενος εὐρεῖν  
πιστὸν ἐταῖρον, ὅτ' μή τις ἔνεστι δόλος·  
ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενος τε μολίβδῳ  
χρυσός, ὑπερτερὴς ἄμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος.

O has *νόος* as in the first place<sup>1</sup>. Since O and the inferior manuscripts all go back to one manuscript probably not earlier than A<sup>2</sup>, *λόγος* has at least equal authority with *νόος*. Perhaps *λόγος* originally stood in one version, *νόος* in the other; and by assimilation the one reading prevailed in A, the other in O and the rest.

With the language of 417—8 and 1164 *g h* must be compared 1105—6:

εἰς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενος τε μολίβδῳ  
χρυσὸς ἀπεφθός ἐὼν καλὸς ἅπασιν ἔσῃ<sup>3</sup>.

If 415—8 mean something like this: "All my search can find no faithful comrade like unto myself; when I come to the test I am as gold rubbed on lead, and in me is superior wit": the difference between *λόγος* and *νόος* does not materially affect the meaning. The poet is the gold and the men whom he deems unworthy of his friendship the lead. Turning now to 1164 *e—h* we meet with great difficulty. The context does not seem to help us, for the preceding lines, 1164 *a—d*, characterize the friend to be desired but do not suggest that such a friend is hard to find. Thus there is only a general similarity of subject to justify the repetition. The justification must therefore come from the lines themselves. *οὕτιν'* for *οὐδέν'* is an insignificant change, but the

<sup>1</sup> K, a copy of O, has 1164 *ef* only, omitting the second couplet by lipography due to the similarity of *ἔνεστι δόλος* and *ἔνεστι νόος*.

<sup>2</sup> See Nietzsche, *Rheinisches Museum* xxii, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> There is a similar expression in Simonides 64. Plutarch, *discriminatio amici et adulatoris*, c. 24: τὸν δὲ κρείττονα τρέμει καὶ δέδοικεν, οὐ μὰ Δία παρὰ Λύδιον ἄρμα περὶ οἰκνεύων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ χρυσὸν ἐφθόν, ὡς φησι Σιμωνίδης, ἀκτράτος οὐδὲ μολυβδὸν ἔχων, where Bergk reads οὐλομόλυβδος ἐὼν, "pure lead."

variation in the second couplet is considerable and important. The first person has disappeared, and παρατριβόμενος goes with λόγος (or νόος). λόγος (or νόος) is the gold: what is the lead? It can be nothing but δόλος. Note that δόλος and λόγος are at the end of the pentameters, a very emphatic place. "All my search can find no faithful comrade like unto myself, in whom is no *guile*; but my *wit* that is in me, being brought to the test and rubbed as gold on lead, is better (than other men's *guile*).<sup>1</sup>" The change in the wording has thrown a strong emphasis on λόγος, and corresponds to a considerable change in the thought. It is then impossible to treat the second version as a *repetition* of the first; that would be to misuse the term. This explanation does not pretend to be entirely satisfactory; but it is perhaps better than to explain nothing and to treat two thoughts as one. Possibly a partial assimilation has taken place, and the two passages came from Theognis with greater differences than they now present.

If any one should argue that the differences may be due to careless quotation, and that our compiler has incorporated a sound and a corrupt or two divergently corrupt forms of the same poem, it may be answered: that neither form is quoted anywhere in Greek literature; that it is hard to see what material either form could have provided for the criticisms of the Stoics or Bion the Borysthenite; that when Theognis is quoted in Plato, Plutarch and others, their wording, though it often differs from our text, is generally such as to give a good enough meaning in itself<sup>1</sup>, whereas 1164 *e—h* are obscure, to say the least.

The real difficulty lies in the interpretation of ὑπερτερῆς λόγος, which, if both versions are to stand, must mean 'wit of a superior quality,' as was assumed above. But until some justification for such a use of the genitive is found, it will be more natural to suppose that λόγος means *ratio*, 'claim' or 'ground.' This would condemn the variant νόος in either

<sup>1</sup> Thus in 175 μεγαλήτεα is often given for βαθυκήτεα, in 176 κρημῶν for περρῶν; but these changes do not spoil the sense.

version, and in the second, unless we are to suppose a violent anacoluthon, it would condemn παρατριβόμενος; that is to say, it would condemn everything wherein the second differs from the first. Thus the question of this repetition reduces itself to the alternative of partial differentiation or partial assimilation, and must be left unsolved.

441 begins in A with οὐδείς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος<sup>1</sup>. O omits γὰρ; the interpolated manuscripts have τοι, which is clearly a stopgap. Either γὰρ is right, or the common ancestor of A and O had simply οὐδείς πάντ'; but the character of A is so good that it should not be suspected of interpolation if a meaning can be found for γὰρ. It is natural to suppose that γὰρ joins 441—6 with the preceding couplet. Is this impossible? Most scholars seem to think so. But surely a connexion can be discerned. "He is a fool who keeps my mind in ward and thinks not of his own; for none is faultless in all things; but while a good heart to bear evil makes it less manifest, the poor heart cannot temper itself either to good or to evil. Divers are the gods' gifts to men; but needs must we bear what heaven bestows, whatsoever it be." "You see the mote in my eye," says the poet, "but have you no beam in your own? For none of us is perfect, though the better our character the less show do our faults make." He leaves us to infer that he himself is in distress, while the person (perhaps merely hypothetical) whom he addresses is enjoying prosperity which he does not know how to use. 439—44 go well together: it is with ἀθανάτων δὲ in 444 that we get a somewhat awkward transition, and that is quite as awkward if we separate the six lines from the two.

After 1162 these six lines are repeated by AO<sup>2</sup> (1162 a—f), with γὰρ in the first line, ἐπίδηλον for ἐπίδηλος in the second, θυμὸν ὁμῶς μίσγειν for θυμὸν ἔχων μίμνειν in the fourth. The changes are slight and do not affect the sense. θυμὸν ὁμῶς μίσγειν is an improvement on the difficult ex-

<sup>1</sup> Bergk and others find fault with πάντα πανόλβιος; but it is grammatically quite possible, and the pleonasm is good in point of style.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently by all the manuscripts.

pression *θυμὸν ἔχων μίμνειν*<sup>1</sup>. If *γὰρ* is to have any meaning it must connect these lines with what precedes, 1161—2. It was decided above that 1162 is sound. The connexion of thought is therefore this: "...but give to good men, Cyrrus, when they ask; for none is fortunate in all things, though a good character will lessen evil..." 1162 *a—f* explain how it is that good men may be in need. Good character does not avert evil, though it may lessen its weight.

Thus here again Theognis has set the most part of an old poem in a new context. In the first place the lines justify an unfortunate man's disdain of his more fortunate neighbour's criticism; in the second they give a reason for helping good men in their distress.

555—6 are repeated in AO (1178 *a b*) after 1178, with a few changes<sup>2</sup>. Probably here again Theognis has used an old couplet, slightly changed, to begin a new poem or rather a new set of couplets. It has been shewn already that the four lines which follow, 1179—82, are closely allied. 1178 *a b* are connected with these lines by *θεοὺς* of 1179, which is an echo of *θεῶν* in 1178 *b*, and serves instead of a copula. "A man must be brave in grievous trouble, keeping up his heart, and pray to the deathless gods for release. Honour and fear the gods, Cyrrus, for that keepeth a man from doing or saying things unholy; but to bring low as thou wilt a people-eating tyrant is no sin towards the gods." The first two couplets urge the need of patience and the fear of the gods, the third gives an exception.

571—2:

δόξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα, πείρα δ' ἄριστον.  
πολλοὶ ἀπείρητοι δόξαν ἔχουσ' ἀγαθῶν.

A alone has *ἀπείρητοι*; the other manuscripts have *ἀπείρητον*. These lines are repeated after 1104, where both A and O have

<sup>1</sup> For the construction compare Euripides, *Orestes* 921 *χωρεῖν ὁμῶσε τοῖς λόγοις*, and the common use of *μίσγω* with the dative.

<sup>2</sup> In 556 AO have *πρὸς τε θεῶν*; in 1178 *b* A has *πρὸς δὲ θεῶν*, O has *πρὸς τε θεῶν δ'*. O's blunder is perhaps yet another trace of the reaction of a first version on a second.

*ἀπείρητοι*. A has *ἀγαθοί*, "non male" says Bergk, though it may be due to assimilation with *ἀπείρητοι*. The variation is unimportant. The lines which follow this repetition, 1105—6, are these:

εἰς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατριβόμενός τε μολίβδῳ  
χρυσὸς ἀπεφθός ἐὼν καλὸς ἅπασιν ἔσῃ.

The two couplets should certainly be joined. Bergk in his note on 1105 says: "commode quidem hae eclogae, cum eiusdem sint argumenti, componuntur, neque vero licet utrumque distichon coniungere." *Why* it is not allowed he does not explain. Perhaps he felt the need of a *σύ* to point the antithesis with *πολλοί*. But the real antithesis is between the second couplet and the hexameter, not the pentameter, of the first. Cynus could not be contrasted with the *πολλοί*, for the use of the future *ἔσῃ* suggests that he too was *ἀπείρητος*. If this fact is understood, the lack of *σύ* is not felt; nor is it in any case a serious fault. "Seeming is bad, trial is best (many men have a seeming of merit though untried); but being put to the test thou wilt be found pure gold fair to the view." In Cynus' case, says Theognis, *πείρα* will corroborate *δόξα*. Here then Theognis has repeated a general statement in order to add a particular supplement.

AO and three other manuscripts repeat 619—20 with slight change in 1114 a *δ*<sup>1</sup>. The reason for the repetition may be gathered from what precedes and what follows. 1109—14 complain of an upheaval of society. "The good are now bad, the bad good. The noble seek in marriage of the base. They smile on one another with deceit in their hearts." "And," the poet proceeds, "I am sore troubled for want, since I have not outrun the beginning of poverty." The general disorder leads up to a complaint of his own troubles, and that in its turn to a retort on an enemy, 1115—6: "Being

<sup>1</sup> The change from *πολλ' ἐν ἀμυχανίῃσι* in 619 to *πολλὰ δ' ἀμυχανίῃσι* in 1114 a is appropriate, since 1114 a *δ* are to be connected with 1109—14. *ἀρχὴν γὰρ πενίης* in 1114 a may be a mistake for *ἀκρην*; but *ἀρχὴν* is appropriate in view of what follows, since *τὰ μὲν μοι ἔστι* implies something short of pennilessness. In 620 Bergk, without just cause, changes *ἀκρην γὰρ πενίην* to *ἀκρην γὰρ πενίης*.

rich thou hast taunted me with poverty; but something I have, and more with heaven's help I will make." Thus Theognis repeats an old couplet with slight variations, to form a link in a chain of short poems. 1114 *a b* should not be actually joined to 1109—14; but here as elsewhere a poem is half attached to its neighbours.

853—4:

ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν ἄταρ πολὺν λῶϊα δὴ νῦν  
τοῦνεκα<sup>1</sup> τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ χάρις.

The preceding lines are a curse on false friends:

Ζεὺς ἄνδρ' ἐξολέσειεν Ὀλύμπιος, δς τὸν ἐταῖρον  
μαλθακὰ κωτίλλων ἐξαπατᾶν ἐθέλει.

The two couplets probably supplement each other, if they are not to be actually joined. Bergk suggests ἐθέλοι or ἐθέλη for ἐθέλει; but the indicative may be used because Theognis is really thinking of a particular case of deceit; and this is corroborated by 853. "Though I knew it before, I know it much better now" is forcible-feeble unless it refers to something which has just happened to give striking proof of what Theognis had previously supposed to be true. "A curse on the man who by soft coaxing seeks to beguile his comrade. I knew before, but I know far better now, that the vile heart knows no gratitude."

In 1038 *a b* all the manuscripts repeat 853—4 thus:

ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἄταρ πολὺν λῶϊον ἤδη,  
οὔνεκα<sup>2</sup> τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ χάρις.

If these lines are to be connected with 1037—8, they cannot

<sup>1</sup> So the inferior manuscripts; in A the τ is erased; O has οὔνεκα. In 853 λῶϊα, the reading of A, can hardly be right. The evidence for λῶϊος as a comparative form is very weak: see Kühner-Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik*, § 155, and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf on Euripides, *Herakles*, 196. I keep λῶϊα in the text because the other manuscripts also are at fault, and because I wish to leave these 'repetitions' free from all but the most obvious emendations.

Mr A. B. Cook suggests to me that Theognis may have been led to use λῶϊα as a comparative by a mistaken reminiscence of πολὺ λῶϊον in *Iliad* i. 229 and Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 433: "it would not be by any means the only example of a legitimate epic phrase misunderstood by a later hexametrist."

<sup>2</sup> O has οὔνεκα as in 854.



have the meaning of 853—4; but perhaps another is possible. *οὐνεκα* and *τοῦνεκα* are ambiguous. They may mean either "since"<sup>1</sup>, or, after verbs of knowing, thinking, saying, "that"<sup>2</sup>. In 854 *οὐνεκα* must have the second meaning; in 1038 *b* it must have the first. "Tis hardest to beguile a good man—that has long been settled in my mind, Cyrrhus; I knew it before, but I know it far better by now—since vile hearts bear no gratitude." It is their knowledge of the thanklessness of the *δειλοί* that makes the *ἀγαθοί* hard to deceive. 1038 *a* is a supplement to the preceding pentameter, while 1038 *b* explains the preceding hexameter. Thus Theognis has given an old couplet a new application by going back to the original meaning of *οὐνεκα*, which long survived beside the later. The context makes this change of meaning natural<sup>3</sup>.

877—8:

ἦβα μοι, φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες ἄλλοι ἔσονται  
ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανὼν γαῖα μέλαιν' ἔσομαι<sup>4</sup>.

Notice the parallelism of the last two clauses, and the emphatic position of *ἄνδρες*. "Be young, my heart! Soon others will be men while I am clay."

Nobody seems to have noticed an all but certain proof that this couplet is to be joined with what follows, 879—84:

πῖν' οἶνον, τὸν ἐμοὶ κορυφῆς ἄπο Τηυγέτοιο  
ἄμπελοι ἤνεγκαν, τὰς ἐφύτευς' ὁ γέρων  
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι θεοῖσι φίλος Θεότιμος,  
ἐκ Πλατανιστοῦντος ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ ἐπάγων·  
τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις μελεδώντας,  
θωρηχθεὶς δ' ἔσσει πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος.

What is the meaning of *ἐλαφρότερος*? Used metaphorically *ἐλαφρός* means either "light-minded"<sup>5</sup> or "gentle," "mild."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* iii. 403, Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 36, Aeschylus, *Supplices* 632, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* vii. 300, v. 216, Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 232, etc.

<sup>3</sup> This is, I think, a possible explanation of the facts of the text; but I suspect that the text is wrong.

<sup>4</sup> For differences of reading see my critical note.

<sup>5</sup> Polybius vi. 56. 11: *ἐλαφρὸν καὶ πλῆρες ἐπιθυμιῶν παρανόμων, ὀργῆς ἀλόγου, θυμοῦ βιαίου*. Compare Euripides, *Bacchae* 851: *ἐλαφρὰν λύσαν*.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps in the 13th Platonic epistle, p. 360 c, where a certain person is

Neither of these uses nor any other use of the word fits the passage of Theognis, where lightness is produced by driving care away. If 879—84 are addressed to a *person*, the last line can only mean: "when thou art warmed with wine thou wilt be much more light-minded"—not a very courteous invitation. But if Theognis addresses these lines, like the preceding couplet, to his *heart*, *ελαφρότερος* has a very appropriate meaning: "drinking thereof thou wilt drive off thy grievous cares, and warmed therewith thou wilt be much lighter." In Greek as in English it is natural to speak of a man's heart as light, but not of the man himself. Similarly *βαρύθυμος* means "heavy at heart," though *βαρύς* is not used of a person in the meaning "sad." In support of the ordinary view of this passage it would be necessary to quote passages where *ἀποσκεδάννυμι*, without *θυμοῦ* or *φρενῶν* or some such word, means to divest oneself of a trouble—a meaning which neither *ἀποσκεδάννυμι* nor *σκεδάννυμι* ever seems to have—and passages where *ελαφρός* means "cheerful," applied to a person—a meaning which it never has. For the view here taken, on the other hand, compare *Odyssey* viii. 149, *σκέδασον δ' ἀπὸ κήδεα θυμοῦ*, which may have suggested this use of *ἀποσκεδάσεις* to Theognis, who dispenses with the genitive by making the heart itself drive off its cares. Compare however line 1323:

Κυπρογένη, παῦσόν με πόνων, σκέδασον δὲ μερίμνας  
θυμοβόρους.

Thus the poet, by a pardonable extravagance, invites his heart to drink, as English poets have invited their hearts to sing, or as Tyndarus in the *Captivi*<sup>1</sup> invites his heart to hang itself.

877—8 are accordingly not a poem by themselves but only the first couplet of a poem.

In 1070 *a b* the manuscripts repeat 877—8 with *τέρπεο*

thus described: *οὔτε ἀχαρίς ἐστὶν ἐντυχεῖν οὔτε κακοῦθαι ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ελαφρὸς ('facile'?) καὶ εὐήθης δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι*. In Isocrates 139 B *ελαφροτάτους* means 'light to bear,' answering to *βαδίως φέροντας* in the preceding clause.

<sup>1</sup> 636.

instead of ἦβα. 1070 *a b* follow 1069—70 naturally and well. "Fools and blind are men, who mourn for the dead but not for the fading of the flower of youth. Be merry, my heart! Soon others will be men while I am clay." *τέρπεο*, which Bergk supposes to come from a gloss, is just such a change as a poet of taste would have made, for ἦβης of 1070 would naturally have given ἦβα its most literal meaning<sup>1</sup>.

If this explanation is right, 877—84 were probably written before 1069—70; for while the poet's reason for changing ἦβα to *τέρπεο* has been shewn, none appears why he should have changed *τέρπεο* to ἦβα.

1095—6:

σκέπτεο δὴ νῦν ἄλλον· ἐμοί γε μὲν οὔτις ἀνάγκη  
τοῦθ' ἔρδειν· τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσο.

1095—6 are a good sequel to 1091—4, and 1097—1100 to 1095—6. 1160 *a b* are as follows:

ὦ νέοι· οἱ νῦν ἄνδρες ἐμοί γε μὲν οὔτις ἀνάγκη  
ταῦθ' ἔρδειν· τῶν μοι πρόσθε χάριν τίθεσο.

This part of the text has suffered much at the hands of scribes. Most editors regard ὦ νέοι· οἱ νῦν ἄνδρες as the remains of a lost poem. Heimsoeth thinks that they come from a gloss *νέοι οἱ νῦν ἄνδρες*, which is not very likely, to say the least<sup>2</sup>. If we put these words aside, the rest of the couplet is nothing more than the repetition of a convenient form of words, with the slight change of *τοῦθ'* to *ταῦθ'*. Other expressions thus twice used have been mentioned above.

<sup>1</sup> Here then Theognis has changed a word to avoid an echo which he did not desire. Conversely Euripides, when in the *Medea* he repeats an old poem, changes a line in order to produce an echo which he did desire. The *Alcestis* and three other plays end with the same five lines, πολλὰ μορφὰ τῶν δαιμονίων κτλ.; but in the *Medea* for the first line of these five is substituted πολλῶν ταμίας Ζεὺς ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ, because an invocation of Zeus precedes.

<sup>2</sup> Hiller (in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, xxvi. p. 116) suggests that ὦ νέοι οἱ νῦν ἄνδρες is a scribe's attempt to fill in .....εο...νῦν ἄ....., all that was legible of σκέπτεο δὴ νῦν ἄλλον in his archetype. But this expansion would have been bad both in sense and in length; and the scribe could easily have filled the gaps from 1095.

1101—4:

ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ πέρι, καί σ' ἐκέλευσεν  
οἴχεσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέρην φιλίην  
ὕβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα  
καὶ Σμύρνην· πάντως, Κύρνε, καὶ ὕμμ' ἀπολεῖ.

1101—2 are not connected grammatically with 1097—1100, but they clearly refer to the same subject. How are they connected with what follows? They are generally regarded as a fragment, the sentence which contained the correlative of ὅστις being lost. But it seems possible to take them with 1103—4. "Whoever counselled thee concerning me and bade thee quit my friendship and go—wantonness destroyed the Magnesians and Colophon and Smyrna, of a surety it shall destroy you twain." The irregularity is twofold. First, the construction is interrupted by the sentence ὕβρις...Σμύρνην. For this it would probably not be hard to find parallels<sup>1</sup>. If instead of parataxis Theognis had used hypotaxis and said ὥσπερ ὕβρις Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσεν, οὕτω καὶ ὕμμ' ἀπολεῖ, the construction would have been regular. Secondly, ὅστις has no proper correlative; but if for ὕμμ' its equivalent κείνον καὶ σέ were written, this irregularity also would vanish. Compare Virgil's "uestras, Eure, domos" and "uos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti."

In 1278, *a—d* A, there our only manuscript, repeats 1101—2 without change and 949—50<sup>2</sup> with no change except

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat similarly in Latin "propera et" may intervene between another imperative and the case which it governs, as in Plautus, *Aulularia* 270: uascula intus pure propera et elue. Compare Manilius, iv. 534: se quisque et uiuit et effert. For these two references I am indebted to Dr Postgate. More like the parataxis of our passage is the common Greek idiom whereby a main clause and a subordinate clause concessive or illustrative in thought are put side by side and linked by some such means as a μέν and a δέ. The following are two examples from Pindar. *Olympian* i. 3—7: εἰ δ' ἄεθλα γαρύεν ἑλθεαί, φίλον ἦτορ, μηκέθ' ἄλλου σκόπει ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἀμέρᾳ φαεινὸν δαστρον ἐρήμας δι' αἰθέρος, μηδ' Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν. *Olympian* ix. 47—9: ἔγειρ' ἐπέων σφιν οἶμον λιγύν, αἶνε δὲ παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἀνθεα δ' ἡμῶν νεωτέρων: where the old wine has no connexion, except by contrast, either with the trail of verses or with the blooms of songs. In the passage of Theognis the interposed clause expresses likeness, not contrast: but the principle is the same.

<sup>2</sup> Ziegler says nothing of the repetition of 949—50.

ὑπεξαφοῦ, a mere blunder, and καταϊμάργας, which may be right in both places.

ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ πέρι, καί σ' ἐκέλευσεν  
οἷχεσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέρην φιλήν  
νεβρόν ὑπὲξ ἐλάφοιο λέων ὥς ἀλκί πεποιθώς  
ποσσὶ καταϊμάργας αἵματος οὐκ ἔπιον.

Of these two couplets the first is ungrammatical by itself, and cannot go with what precedes; the second is obscure by itself, and cannot go with what follows. This suggests that the two couplets form one poem. The second thus supplies an apodosis to the first; the first lights up the obscurity of the second. On this assumption there are two possibilities, that the text is right, or that ἔπιον is a corruption of ἔπιεν due either to the common confusion of uncial ε and ο or to assimilation with 950. With ἔπιον: "Whoever counselled thee concerning me and bade thee quit my friendship and go, I seized upon him as a lusty lion seizeth a fawn from a deer, but drank not of his blood." The poet has triumphed over a rival, but he has shewn him mercy. This would agree with 1279—82, in which the poet says that he will not punish his καλὸς παῖς, since τῶν καλῶν παίδων οὐ τίσις οὐδ' ἀδίκων. But there are several objections. The rival is the fawn, but no counterpart of the hind appears; ὅστις should be ὅς or ὅσπερ; and the want of a pronoun in the second hexameter is felt. It seems better then to read ἔπιεν, when all becomes clear. "Whoever counselled thee concerning me and bade thee quit my friendship and go, like a lusty lion he snatched a fawn from under a hind but drank not of its blood." The poet's rival succeeded in alienating the boy's affections from him for a time, but failed to secure them for himself. The boy is the fawn, the poet is the hind, the rival who wasted his trouble is the lion who seizes his prey but loses it again. The following lines, 1279—82, express the reconciliation of the boy and the poet. Here then the poet has joined parts of two old poems, reproducing their language word for word. The second couplet has a new meaning in its new context, since 949—50 probably refer to politics, and in 950 αἷματος

οὐκ ἔπιον means that the lion spared his prey, not that he lost it.

The first couplet of the poem 1238 *a, b*, 1239, 1240 is repeated from 1151—2. Bergk's note says all that is necessary to defend A, the only manuscript here: "I give these four lines as they stand in A. Bekker struck out the first couplet, since it is read above in 1151—2; but it is manifest that these two couplets are closely bound together, for λέξουσιν must be referred to δειλοὺς ἀνθρώπους." If Bergk had made bold to break with Bekker more often, he would have left fewer of the "repetitions" in his notes and restored more of them to the text. The end of his note is not so satisfactory: "And so, since the poem is here preserved entire, it is in its right place, whence some busybody inserted the first couplet in the first book." But 1151—2 are quite good as they stand. There the second person singular is general, and the couplet refers to friendship; here it refers to the same subject as the rest of the Μοῦσα παιδική, and the second person is addressed to the poet's καλὸς παῖς.

1318 *a b*, which are all but identical<sup>1</sup> with 1107—8, are quite appropriate in their place, following a complaint of the faithlessness of the καλὸς παῖς. Theognis has used the same expression of chagrin in connexion with two different misfortunes.

The results of this review of the repetitions may now be summed up. In many cases we have found not repetitions but variations, and a sufficient motive for the variation has generally appeared. Where there is no change, or change too slight to affect the sense, the context of the second version has generally provided an excuse or rather a reason for the repetition. In no case have the variations appeared to be such as an editor might have produced who desired by doubling some of his material to add to its bulk; even if it were in itself likely that any man should have put himself to such pains with so little to gain. As for the view that our

<sup>1</sup> A, the only manuscript, shews slight variations. τοῖσι φίλοις δὲ is as good as τοῖς δὲ φίλοις, ὥμοι as ὅμοι, δεινὰ as δειλά.

text is a collection of scraps gathered from the works of other authors, and that the doublets are due to misquotation, many of the variations are by no means such as could thus have been produced. It is moreover very unlucky for those who hold this opinion that with regard to these repeated lines there is a conspicuous lack of external authority. If we exclude Stobaeus, who certainly knew no form of Theognis but ours, the only lines among them that are quoted by other authors are 209—10, 213—8, 509—10, 1151—2; and in no case are both versions quoted. With respect to 209—10 and 509—10, Clement of Alexandria combines parts of one version with parts of the other. 213—8 again are quoted in a different form from that of our text, but a form different also from the repetition, 1071—4. In quoting 509—10 Clement has a reading, *αὐτῶ χροῖται*, which appears in neither of our versions. And moreover, if any of these doublets is quoted by nobody in either form, we may presume that it was not such as would often be found convenient to quote. The descriptive poems of Theognis are seldom quoted because they were not suitable for quotation; and so with these doublets, for many of them are poems of a personal nature. Again, several passages which appear only once in our text are quoted in widely different forms: how is it that this fluctuation has not caused repetition of these passages?

But if we take the view that all these repetitions come from Theognis himself, all or nearly all becomes clear; and since in several places the manuscripts shew signs of the reaction of one version upon the other, it may be that the difficulties which remain are in large part due to assimilation which we can no longer trace<sup>1</sup>.

Such repetition of himself, it must be remembered, is by no means an isolated phenomenon in Theognis. We have seen that many poems in our book shew resemblances to poems of older writers together with important differences. We have also seen that when Theognis has expressed a

<sup>1</sup> I would not exclude the possibility of larger corruptions, especially omissions; but here my aim is to shew how seldom such corruptions need be assumed.

thought neatly and well, he does not choose to change its wording when he needs it again, but prefers to reproduce it in the same or almost the same form. Not even the most thorough purger of Theognis would call 1353—6 a *repetition* of 301—2 because they have in common the words *πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνής*<sup>1</sup>.

To the poet who writes epigram the love of compactness and incisiveness is tempered only by the demands of metre and style. He is never flaccid. Every word has its place and its force. This intensity of language makes it easy to express wide differences of thought in words to the casual view not very unlike. The poet himself feels all the import of these differences; and if something is lost to his readers, that is only because they do not keep their minds at a high enough pitch. So it has been with Theognis. The nature of our collection has been examined in the light of external facts. A few pieces of evidence have been misinterpreted, and these mistakes have given a false colour to all the rest. When the unity of the text was denied, consistency between its parts was no longer expected; and critics have devoted themselves not to explaining but to discovering discrepancies, so that some have been magnified and some imagined.

### § 3. *Traces of a Compiler's Hand.*

Much that has been said already will be of service in considering Welcker's other reasons<sup>2</sup> for his view of the composition of our text.

"Plurium sententiarum argumentum eas in genuina gnomologia multas alias, quae nunc pone sequuntur, longe antecessisse arguit. Omnino nexus inter plurima eorum, quorum jam denuo, reliquis expulsis, census habendus est,

<sup>1</sup> Compare van der Mey, *Studia Theognidea*, p. 19: "Est Theognidis farraginis proprium, ut in ea permulti versus legantur, qui toti aut partim, prorsus iisdem aut fere simillimis verbis, bis vel saepius repetantur. Verisimillimum est hanc crebram repetitionem inde ortam esse, quod et Theognis et quicumque alii poetae ex indigesta mole protrahuntur, vocem et sententiam aliquam a se excogitatam adeo adamaverint, ut identidem uterentur."

<sup>2</sup> P. ciii.



adeo non tantum est solutus, sed continuatio sententiarum in plerisque prorsus nulla, imo tanta indigestae molis confusio, tam ei, qui singula penitus perspecta habet, ingrata et intolerabilis ferme, ut hinc etiam colligere debeamus libri nostri auctorem non poematis alicujus contextum excerpando secutum, sed e variis scriptoribus collecta fragmenta vel temere coacervasse, vel pessima plurima ratione junxisse."

"Contra loci sunt haud pauci, ubi litteratum agit anonymus noster, quae luxata et lacerata viderentur internectere et integritati restituere conatur, in fragmenta quantivis pretii grassatus libere."

These two reasons may be considered together. The one asserts that our collection is for the most part a chaos, the other that some one has made violent but generally vain efforts to bring about some sort of order in it. With the former Welcker gives no examples, leaving the text to speak for itself; with the latter he gives some which it will be well to examine first.

The three poems 19—26, 53—60, 183—92 have been considered above. In each of them the first line contains *Kύρνε* and the last hexameter or the last but one *Πολυπαίδη*. Believing Cynos and Polypaides to be different persons, Welcker is obliged to regard the conclusion in each case as a mistaken addition to the rest of the poem. Thus he leaves three poems unfinished and forlorn, and produces three fragments which are clearly not poems but ends of poems. But it has been shewn above that Cynos and Polypaides are one; almost all recent critics agree in this; and nothing can be more certain. It follows that the combinations which Welcker considered patchwork are due to Theognis. It may be added in support of the unity of these poems that Theognis uses the address just as it should be used. It is a common practice of poets to give an address near the beginning of the poem and another, often different in form, not far from the end<sup>1</sup>. With this custom these three poems

<sup>1</sup> The following are examples. Tennyson, *To Virgil*: "Roman Virgil" comes in the first line, "Mantovano" in the first line of the last stanza, the tenth. Tennyson, *To E. Fitzgerald*: "Old Fitz" begins the poem, "My Fitz" comes

of Theognis agree. The first line in each has *Kύρνε*, and near the end of each comes *Πολυπαίδη*.

These three examples then prove just the opposite of what Welcker infers from them. His next is 93—100, where he thinks the compiler has put two contradictory statements together: "gnomas commisit, quarum illa amicum recusat, qui alia ore jactet, alia tecta in animo gerat, haec vero eum probat sodalem, qui amici veri iracundiam etiam aequo animo ferat." But it has been shewn above that there is a good antithesis between the friend who maligns a man behind his back and the friend who overlooks even real faults.

His next example is 173—82, where he thinks that different pronouncements about poverty have been joined, "quamvis sententia illic expressa est, necem paupertati praeferendam, hic, paupertatis remedium quomodocunque comparandum esse." The first two couplets<sup>1</sup> describe the horrors of poverty by enumerating evils that are to be preferred—old age, ague, suicide; the next two describe the disabilities that result from poverty; and the last sums up the whole by repeating that death is better than poverty. For the meaning of 179—80 seems to have been missed. The question of poverty cannot be solved by walking. Travel for travel's sake brings no alleviation of poverty as it might of sorrow or over-work. To get release from poverty a man must go over sea and land indeed, but with the purpose of making money<sup>2</sup>. 179—80 explain 177—8: the poor man can say and do

near the beginning of the last sentence, in the 51st line out of 56. Catullus viii., xiii., xxiii., xxxi., xxxvi. Horace, *Epistles* i. 8 and 10.

<sup>1</sup> See the text. My punctuation, which is new, is meant to shew the connexion of thought.

<sup>2</sup> The true meaning was perhaps seen by Horace, *Epistles* i. 1. 42—6:

vides, quae maxima credis  
esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,  
quanto devites animi capitisque labore;  
impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,  
per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes.

The scholiast says that Horace here imitates 175—6: but what the lines owe to Theognis they owe to 179—80. The thought however occurs elsewhere, as in Solon 13. 43 ff.

nothing, but his tongue is tied (that is to say, he is politically and socially of no account), because all his time is spent in earning his bread. *χρῆ* in 179 means "it is necessary," in 175 "it is desirable." Thus Theognis is absolved from the charge of putting the weaker measure after the stronger, travel after suicide.

The only evidence which favours Welcker is that 175—6 are quoted by Stobaeus, Clement, Plutarch, in various scholia, and elsewhere, and in every case *χρῆ πένιν* appears for *ἦν δὴ χρῆ*. This suggests that the latter was a change made in order to tack this couplet on to 173—4. The contrary change is perhaps almost as likely, for any one who wanted to quote 175—6 would naturally be tempted to remove the relative and substitute the noun to which it refers<sup>1</sup>. This may have been done by several authors independently, since *χρῆ πένιν* was the only possible substitution. But notice that Stobaeus also has *χρῆ πένιν*. Stobaeus, or the older anthology from which he drew, certainly used no form of Theognis but ours; and he cannot have had much reason for changing *ἦν δὴ χρῆ*, since he could easily have quoted 173—4 as well. This suggests that the change to *ἦν δὴ χρῆ* was not made in Stobaeus' time, and therefore that it came comparatively late in the manuscript tradition of Theognis, long after the book took its present form. Some editor may have fought shy of the frequent repetition of *πένιν* in these lines, and so have substituted a relative for it in the only place where this could be done. Perhaps *χρῆ πένιν* should be restored to the text. In that case 173—82 would be perhaps a succession of short poems, designedly put in their present order by Theognis, rather than one poem. This might seem to be confirmed by the frequency of *Κύρνε*, but for that compare 69—72<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly a certain line of Shakespeare is sometimes quoted "To take up arms against a sea of troubles," because the "or" is not wanted in quotation. Possibly single gnomes of Theognis were cut out of their context for use in schools.

<sup>2</sup> Against Welcker, but not against Bergk for instance, may be used an argument drawn from Lucian, *περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόρων*, ch. 5, who quotes 177 and shortly afterwards refers to 175—6. Nothing can be gathered from Stobaeus

599—602 Welcker supposes to have been put after 595—8 “ob formae et argumenti quandam similitudinem.” But in 595—8 Theognis charges the unknown whom he calls *ἄνθρωπ'* with nothing worse than a disposition uncongenial to his own; while 599—602 have no *ἄνθρωπ'*, and bring a definite charge of treachery. Much more probably the juxtaposition is due to Theognis himself. There is no reason at all why 595—602 should not be one poem, or at any rate a series of poems complementary to one another.

“Formae et argumenti quaedam similitudo,” says Welcker, has brought together also the gnome 1167—8 and the epigram 1169—70. The only resemblance between the two couplets is that one contains *κακῶν*, the other *καχεταιρίης* and *κακὰ*: and seeing how many of the poems contain *κακός* or some kindred word, this resemblance cannot have sufficed to bring them together. But if we look also at 1165—6 we see that the three couplets are logically connected. The first warns against evil company; the second illustrates the first with a reason; the third repeats the injunction and at the same time gives it a personal turn.

“Prava commissura” has put 753—6 just after 743—52. The conjunction is certainly bad if we look only at the words and not at the sense of 731—52 (which are certainly one poem; the division at 742 is between two periods, not two poems); for that poem ends by saying that the unrighteous are rich and the righteous poor. But these twenty-two lines are an expostulation with Zeus, a protest against the remissness of divine justice, whereby the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, and the wicked prosper while the virtuous starve; and they are followed not inappropriately by 753—6 if *ταῦτα μαθῶν* be not interpreted with logical exactness. “Learn this lesson (that the prosperity of the wicked is a reproach to the justice of heaven), and make money

xcvi. 14 and 15, for the fourteenth extract under the lemma *Θεόγνιδος* has 649—52 followed without break by 177—8, the fifteenth under *Θεόγνιδος* has 155—8 followed without break by 179—80, the sixteenth under *Θεόγνιδος* has 175—6; whence it is probable that five extracts have been reduced by amalgamation to three.

justly without trespass; and in the end thou wilt thank me for my advice."

"The old couplet 931—2 gives very different advice concerning household economy from the unknown author of 903—30, whose elegy it follows." 903—30 are probably a late addition—the only poem in the book of which this can safely be said—and it was doubtless the word *φείδεσθαι* of 931 which caused them to be inserted here rather than anywhere else. In this case therefore Welcker is right; but be it remembered that it is an exceptional case. If the poem were genuine, the juxtaposition of 903—30 and 931—2 would be easy to explain. In the gnome a short pronouncement is made which settles the question debated in the elegy; Theognis acts as the chopper of his own arguments. A similar effect of antithesis is produced in 1153—6, where everything, from *οὐδ' εὐχομαι* to the repetition of *μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν*, shews that the second couplet was meant as a direct answer to the first, and that the juxtaposition is necessary to give them their full value. So in 579—82, where a woman upbraids a man and the man retorts upon the woman<sup>1</sup>.

"After 1153—6, two couplets which give different opinions concerning wealth, follow four lines concerning wealth and wisdom. But in these wealth is only mentioned for comparison's sake, and wisdom is the subject of the poem." These lines have been discussed above. The transition from 1153—6 to 1157—60 is not from a poem containing the word *πλουτεῖν* to another containing *πλούτος*, but from a poem that discusses wealth to another wherein a fact about wealth is used to introduce an analogous fact about wisdom; and there is not the slightest reason why this transition should not have been made by Theognis himself. Welcker moreover is inconsistent here. He thinks Stobaeus' quotations independent of our text. Therefore 1157—8, which are lost in the manuscripts and restored from Stobaeus, have no right to any particular place in our text, which Welcker thinks a mass

<sup>1</sup> In this von Leutsch rightly sees "eine art dialogischer form" (*Philologus* xxx. p. 209).

of fragments. Between 1153—6 and 1159—60 there is no apparent connexion. Hence it follows that Welcker accuses the compiler of combining two fragments on the strength of a resemblance which presumably did not exist for him.

"Magis dubium est malum artificium" in 261—6. The poem has never yet been explained satisfactorily. The following explanation, which is new, accounts for everything if one postulate be granted, namely that it was the practice in Greece to drink confusion to an enemy in cold water, not wine. Such a custom is natural enough in a wine-drinking country; but there seems to be no evidence for it in Greek<sup>1</sup>. This postulate granted, the poem is to be translated thus:—"It is not wine that is drunk to me when a man much worse than I is established by my fair lady's side. Cold water her parents drink to me before her, so that she both draws it for them and weeps for me as she brings it—in the house where once I threw my arm round her waist and kissed her neck, while she made a tender sound with her lips." The fourth line describes the unhappy fate of the girl, who has to draw the water in which her parents are to drink confusion to the lover whose absence she mourns. All this is contingent on the postulate; but until a better explanation is offered the postulate must be taken for granted. Bergk gives the poem up in despair, and a glance at his note will shew that other scholars have been more successful only by means of sweeping emendations, the last infirmity of exegesis<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> At least I know of none.

<sup>2</sup> In 265 Hermann's conjecture βαλὼν for λαβὼν of the manuscripts is certainly right. This common corruption occurs again in 304.

The use of *φέρεται* in 489 suggests that perhaps *φέρειν τινα* may have meant "to pledge a person." The meaning of *καὶ με γοῶσα φέρει* would then be: "drinks the toast of my confusion with tears in her eyes."

Another meaning might be given to *οὐ μοι πίνεται οἶνος*: "my wine is untouched." The poet sits at home with wine before him, but cannot drink for sorrow at his rival's triumph. Sorrow would generally have the opposite effect. On my interpretation *ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ* would have given a better contrast with *οἶνος* than *ψυχρὸν* alone: but even if *ὑδρεύει* did not follow, *ψυχρὸν* could only mean water. Compare *ψυχροποτεῖν*, *ψυχροπότης*, *ψυχροποσία* in later Greek. See Welcker, p. 150.

This poem is discussed by E. F. M. Benecke, *Antimachus of Colophon and*

But whatever the nature of this poem, there is not the least likelihood that it is the patchwork of an editor.

In 299, Welcker's last example, the reading of O and the inferior manuscripts might have been due to a desire to connect 299—300 with 295—8; but not so the reading of A. The latter is corrupt, but it points to a certain emendation which has been made by Sauppe and Bergk. This is another indication that many phenomena ascribed by Welcker and others to a compiler are really due to the ordinary processes of interpolation and corruption, and belong to a comparatively late period in the tradition of the text.

#### § 4. *Catchwords.*

It remains to notice Welcker's theory of catchwords, and then to consider his reconstruction of the text.

"In hujus assertionis fidem elenchum dabo locorum, quos sciolus ob inanem aliquam speciem, verbum aliquod aut formulam dicendi, vel in fine unius sententiae et initio alterius, vel in binorum initio communem copulasse videtur." Welcker was the first to discover traces of this principle in the arrangement of our text. Later German scholars have applied this *Stichwortsprincip* to the whole series of poems throughout. It has been carried farthest by K. Müller, and his presentation of it must be chosen for examination rather than Welcker's, who suggested this form of research but did comparatively little in it himself.

Let us notice here only one point. Among his catchwords Welcker gives the following:

"1223 οὐδέν, Κύρν', ὀργῆς ἀδικώτερον. 1225 οὐδέν, Κύρν', ἀγαθῆς γλυκερώτερον.

1226 μάρτυς ἐγώ, σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ γίγνου ἀληθοσύνης. 1227 ἀληθείη δὲ παρέστω σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί."

*the Position of Women in Greek Poetry*, pp. 199—200. He supposes a party consisting of the two rivals, the lady, and her parents; and with the help of emendation he makes the poet kiss the lady's elbow.

Now 1221—30 are not found in the manuscripts, but added from Stobaeus and Athenaeus. Thus the order in which these couplets follow one another is quite arbitrary, and due to no older authority than modern editors<sup>1</sup>. It is not likely that our manuscripts are deficient by just these ten lines, for 1229—30 are clearly only a part, probably the end, of a lost poem. Thus there is no reason to suppose that any one of these couplets came very close to any other in the complete text. Moreover 1227—8 were inserted only by a mistake of Hugo Grotius, for they are given by Stobaeus under the lemma *Μενάνδρου Ναννοῦς*, which should of course be *Μιμνέρμου Ναννοῦς*. Thus Welcker finds a catchword connecting two couplets from different chapters of Stobaeus, and another connecting a couplet of Theognis with a couplet of Mimnermus. Catchwords must be as plenty as blackberries if they exist between lines thus thrown together hap-hazard in modern times; and this may well arouse suspicion of other catchwords in other places where the arrangement is of older date.

### § 5. *Welcker's Reconstruction.*

So much for the reasons for which Welcker held that our text was produced by collecting fragments quoted in other authors. Into his reconstitution of the text it is scarcely necessary to enter, since, be that as unsatisfactory as it may, it by no means follows that he was wrong in condemning the arrangement given by the manuscripts. We have seen that by the mistake of distinguishing Cynrus from Polypaides he broke up complete and perfect poems into fragments; but apart from this it is not fair to condemn his arrangement merely because it gives us a string of fragments, since in his opinion all or most of our pieces are in fact fragments and nothing else; and he was well aware that no reconstruction can hope to be final.

<sup>1</sup> They were added first by Elias Vinetus in 1543.



He declines to fix the date of the compilation beyond saying that it was probably made at Constantinople. The compiler did not use Stobaeus, he thinks, since Stobaeus differs from our manuscripts in many points of wording and order, and gives to Theognis lines which do not appear in our text. Rather he drew upon earlier chrestomathies, "per longum eclogariorum, epitomatorum et compilatorum aevum ex Theognide excerptas." It is not likely that he ransacked Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch and others one by one, for a very large number of the pieces are quoted in no extant work; "quamvis haud magis praefracte negare, quam cupide affirmare libet, potuisse sententias omnes, quae conservatae sunt, sparsim haberi in libris, qui Constantinopoli demum perierint, maximeque in Stoicorum aliorumque philosophorum libris, et iis praesertim, qui *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας* conscripti essent." Unfortunately this will not account for the survival of the more descriptive and personal poems, which are seldom quoted, and which few writers can have wanted to quote, at least in full<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A few inconsistencies in his reconstruction may be noticed here.

He retains in the gnomology 11—14, which refer to a temple of Artemis at Megara. But if this poem could stand in the gnomology, why could not 1—10 and 15—18 also? They are exactly similar to 11—15 except that nothing but the testimony of the manuscripts proves them to be the work of Theognis.

Why are occasional poems such as 549—54, 671—82, 773—82, 825—30, 1123—8 allowed to remain in the gnomology? How does their case differ from that of 891—4, 511—22 and other poems?

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE THEORY OF CATCHWORDS.

THE many scholars who have written on Theognis since Welcker have almost all walked in the paths which he opened up. Their conclusions have often differed from his, but they all find our text a collection of poems by various hands. There is no need to review all that has been written, since much of it adds no new fact or theory concerning the nature of our text as a whole. It will suffice to examine a few of the most important contributions.

#### § 1. *Bergk.*

In the *Rheinisches Museum* of 1845 Theodor Bergk set forth the principles on which he had dealt with Theognis in his edition of the Greek Lyric Poets. On the main question he agrees with Welcker. "We have before us not a well-ordered and connected work, but nothing more than scraps and paltry remnants which belong not to one poet but to several. We have to do with a chaotic mass of fragments, which belong to one elegist and another from Tyrtaeus to Euenus or maybe even later; which have been torn out of all continuity, given often an entirely new reference, and compounded with quite foreign ingredients." He proceeds to discuss passages such as 1003—6, 933—8, 585—90, 227—32, all of which have already been explained. His chief novelty is the introduction of the epitomator. "I call them fragments," he goes on, "for scraps and pieces they are throughout, only

more or less disfigured; a complete elegy is nowhere found." The hand of the epitomator or rather epitomators he sees also in the doublets. Thus he takes 213—8 and 1071—4 to be different abridgments of the same poem. But their resemblances and their differences have been explained above: Bergk accounts only for their resemblances. Again, he regards 119—28 as the beginning and 963—70 as the end of the same elegy. But each of these passages is complete in itself, the first ending well and the second beginning well. A poem on this subject could not be very long; it could hardly be long enough to justify the tautology which Bergk's combination would produce; whereas the gnomic poet who writes in short poems needs no excuse for expressing similar ideas in different forms separated by an interval of over eight hundred lines.

1197—8 again he takes to be the beginning of a poem. But they cannot be separated from 1199—1202, and 1197—1202 together form a poem both good and complete. 1055—8 he thinks the end of a poem. So they are, but the end of the poem or series 1047—58.

783—6 he regards as the beginning and 787—8 as the end of a longer poem. But 783—8 are an appendix to 773—82. A prayer to Phoebus on behalf of Megara is followed by a sort of palinode wherein the poet confesses a preference for his own city over all others; and this idea is expressed with all necessary fulness in 783—8.

On 879 he says that Theognis was no occasional poet, "Gelegenheitsdichter," who should write poems in the person of a friend. This assumes that *πῖν' οἶνον* is spoken by a Lacedaemonian. But in spite of Bergk<sup>1</sup> we have found good reason to believe that Theognis himself is speaking, and addressing his own heart.

In the second part of his article<sup>2</sup> Bergk combats the view of Welcker, Schneidewin and others that Stobaeus knew a more original form of Theognis than ours. He shews that

<sup>1</sup> "Es ist unmöglich, dass hier Theognis redet, selbst wenn er sich eine Zeitlang in Sparta sollte aufgehalten haben." (P. 226.)

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 396 ff.

where Stobaeus differs from our text the differences are neither important nor such as to suggest that he used any other edition than ours. How is it, he asks, that Stobaeus quotes as from Theognis pieces which really belong to other poets? How is it that the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth pieces of Stobaeus' eighteenth chapter follow one another in the same order as in our text? In this matter Bergk is certainly right. Stobaeus or the earlier anthologist or anthologists from whom he drew knew only our form of Theognis, though it then contained some lines which have since been lost.

Bergk places the compilation of our text in the first or the beginning of the second century of our era, but thinks that the complete Theognis may have survived for a time after the selection was made. He confesses, however, that certainty becomes impossible on many points if unity of authorship be denied.

§ 2. *Nietzsche.*

In the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1867 Friedrich Nietzsche discussed the question at length. He seems to have been the first scholar to attempt a thorough explanation of the repetitions. After giving a list of them he says<sup>1</sup>: "etwas Neues waren aber diese Verse trotz der Veränderungen nicht." It has been shewn above that some of them are new by internal changes, some by virtue of a new context.

This question leads him to a fuller developement of the theory of *Stichwortordnung*; but the fullest scheme of catchwords, K. Müller's, is the only one that need be examined. It is worth while, however, to correct Nietzsche in one point. He attaches importance to the fact that A has most repetitions, O rather fewer, K fewer than O, and so on; whence he infers that elimination went steadily on during the whole of the period covered by the manuscripts, and that therefore the presumption is that it began before the time of A. After a list of the repetitions he adds by way of summary: "A has

<sup>1</sup> P. 169.

44 lines more than our editions<sup>1</sup>, O 38, K 30, MN 26, DBFH 24, L 20, E 18, G 12, C 10." His calculation suffers from mistakes of the editors, from flaws in his arithmetic, and perhaps from misprints too<sup>2</sup>. Moreover half the difference between A and O is due to the fact that A alone preserves the second book<sup>3</sup>. As regards the first book the truth of the matter is this, that O repeats only two lines less than A, K only two lines less than O. The reason why 332 *ab* have vanished from all but A is not far to seek. Lipography may have been produced by either of two causes, or by both: for *φεύγουντι* in 332 *a* is directly over *φεύγонт'* in the following hexameter, 333; and if in a common ancestor of O and the inferior manuscripts 332 *b* ended with *ἀνιηρότερον*<sup>4</sup>, this and the preceding pentameter, 332, had the similar endings *-ότερον* and *έτέρων*. Lipography again explains best why the scribe of K in copying O omitted 1164 *gh*; for in O 1164 *f* and 1164 *h* have the similar endings *ἔνεστι δόλος* and *ἔνεστι νόος*<sup>5</sup>. Thus the difference between A and O and K is slight and easily accounted for. Their agreement in this respect is remarkably close, in view of the shortness of the poems and the constant recurrence of the same names and

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Bekker's. Bergk was the first to restore some of the repetitions to the text, Hiller the first to restore them all.

<sup>2</sup> His totals do not agree with his items. Moreover Bekker seems to be wrong in saying that K lacks 1104 *ab*, the repetition of 571—2; their presence in K is attested both by Ziegler's first edition and by Sitzler (not by Ziegler's second or Bergk's fourth, since both of these neglect K's readings throughout). Bekker's assertion that "post 1082...iterum ponunt...AO...93—4" is disproved by the silence of Bergk's fourth edition and Ziegler, and expressly contradicted by Jordan in *Hermes* xv. p. 525.

<sup>3</sup> A has really eight lines more than Bekker's text in the second book, but Nietzsche ignores 1278 *cd* and 1318 *ab*. Ziegler's first edition ignores 1278 *cd*, but his second corrects this mistake.

<sup>4</sup> In 332 *b* A has *ἀνιηρότατον*; but in its archetype 210 all the manuscripts have *ἀνιηρότερον*, and O and the inferior manuscripts are fond of assimilating a second version to a first.

<sup>5</sup> In the same way A's omission of 985—6 may be due to the fact that 984 and 986 end with *-έρη* and *-έρη*, and 985 and 987 begin with *αλ-* and *αλ-*. 317 and 319 both end with *ἐμπεδον αλελ*, and this caused the scribe of O to write 320 immediately after 317; but seeing his mistake he went on with 318 and 319, and then wrote 320 again in its proper place.

words and expressions. It matters little how much the inferior manuscripts omit, since they are certainly interpolated. Nietzsche himself derives them all from a "durch und durch interpolirter Codex." What more likely form of interpolation than to cut out these repetitions, as they have been cut out by modern editors?

Thus Nietzsche is mistaken in inferring that the process of elimination goes back beyond the date of A. This is an important point, for Fritzsche would eke out a scheme of catchwords with repetitions of his own.

Nietzsche rightly refutes the opinion that our collection was intended for use in schools<sup>1</sup>. If we put aside the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, much remains that can never have been thought fit for a school-book: poems in praise of wine and revelry, of sensual pleasures<sup>2</sup>; poems of doubtful morality<sup>3</sup>; a love-poem<sup>4</sup>; and many others<sup>5</sup>; to say nothing of the poems which preach worldly wisdom<sup>6</sup>. These are so many in all that they make the book as a whole quite unfit for boys<sup>7</sup>. It is strange that even Welcker's purged gnomology should ever have been thought suitable for schools, and that modern scholars, with a better chance of knowledge, should have repeated the mistake of Cyril.

Having reviewed the external evidence afforded by Plato, Xenophon, Athenaeus, Cyril and others, Nietzsche decides that our collection was made between the time of Cyril and the time of Stobaeus, that is to say in the fifth century after Christ.

As for the poems that seem to be by Solon, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and others, Nietzsche supposes that those of Mimnermus which laud the sensual pleasures were inserted by the compiler out of enmity to Theognis; those of Solon and others, he thinks, may have been inserted earlier by mistake. To Mimnermus he ascribes almost all the *Μοῦσα παιδική*, thinking that the names *Κύρνε* and *Σιμωνίδη* were deliberately substituted for others by the malice of the editor.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 177 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 1017 etc.

<sup>3</sup> 1097 etc.

<sup>4</sup> 261.

<sup>5</sup> 581, 861, 257.

<sup>6</sup> 61, 129, etc.

<sup>7</sup> See Herwerden, p. vii.

§ 3. *Fritzsche.*

In 1870 Ernst von Leutsch reviewed the Theognidean question in the *Philologus*. He treats the subject from every standpoint, but rather in a critical than in a positive spirit; and he declines the task of writing a full history of our text. In fact the most part of his work, useful as it is on numberless points, throws only sidelights on the main question.

He incorporates in his own essay a discussion of "the catchword as a principle in the arrangement of the Theognidean fragments" by Th. Fritzsche<sup>1</sup>, who starts from Welcker's and Nietzsche's theory, expands it, and by introducing repetitions not found in the manuscripts applies it to the whole of the text, including the second book. The result of this may be shewn by quoting a part of his scheme.

"Fragment 73, ll. 309-12 catchword *ἐν μὲν* (first words)

74	313-4	<i>ἐν μὲν</i> (first words)... <i>ἀνθρώπων</i>
75	315-8	<i>ἀνθρώπων...ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ</i>
76	319-22	<i>ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ...θεός</i>
77	323-28	<i>θεοί</i>
78	329-30	<i>θεῶν</i>
Gap, to be filled by	283-6	<i>ἀθανάτων...πόδα</i>
79	331-2	<i>ποσσίν...ἐτέρων</i>
Gap, to be filled by	93-6	<i>ἕτερον...φίλος</i>
The MSS. insert	209-10	<i>φίλος...φεύγοντι</i>
80	333-4	<i>φεύγοντ'...Κύρνε</i>
81	335-6	<i>Κύρν'</i>
82	337-40	<i>Κύρνε...Ζεύς (τίσιω)</i>
83	341-50	<i>Ζεῦ (τίσιω)...ἀνδρῶν</i>
84	351-4	<i>ἄνδρ' .....</i>

For all this Fritzsche does not claim any absolute value. He draws up his system only to give the utmost possible strength to Nietzsche's theory. He then proceeds to demolish his own erection.

<sup>1</sup> *Philologus* xxix. pp. 526-46.

One fatal objection to his method he does not perceive. It has been stated above in criticism of Nietzsche. The difference in number between the forty-four lines repeated in A, written in the tenth century, and the ten repeated in the manuscript C, written at the end of the fifteenth, is of no consequence. The important fact is that in the matter of repetitions the best and earliest manuscripts are virtually at one, shewing only so much difference as was natural or even inevitable in such a collection of short poems; and that the process of omission cannot be traced back beyond the common ancestor of the inferior manuscripts, which is known to have represented an interpolated text. Therefore the device whereby Nietzsche and Fritzsche bridge over the gaps in their schemes is without warrant.

Moreover, nothing like the text which would result from Fritzsche's method could ever have existed. In a total of about 385 fragments he inserts 105 repetitions not authorised by the manuscripts. In 49 of these 105 cases he inserts verses from a later part of the text—for instance 1129—32 between 270 and 271. Now if the text which he produces had ever existed, an editor who desired to remove a repetition would naturally have struck out the second version, not the first. In many places moreover Fritzsche makes verses occur twice at a distance of very few lines. He inserts 585—90 after 556, 789—92 after 772, 887—92 after 852, 1133—4 after 1108, 1197—1202 after 1134, 1295—8 after 1246 and again after 1248 and again after 1274, 1279—82 after 1262, 1249—52 after 1266, 1319—22 after 1278, 1263—6 after 1310, 1319—22 after 1366, 1337—40 after 1374, and so on. The text of Theognis could never have been such a medley as this.

The objections which he himself brings against his method are only less serious than these. Verbs and nouns of the same root may answer to one another; so may words which recur time after time in Theognis, such as *ἀγαθός*, *ἀρετή*, *ἄφρων*, *δαίμων*, *δίκαιος*, *ἐσθλός*; words of similar meaning, such as *θνητοί* and *ἄνθρωποι*, *ἀθάνατοι* and *θεοί*; words which have the same ending, as *εὐδωμεν* and *πίνωμεν*. Catchword-



responsion may be shewn equally well between the first fragment and the third, the second and the fourth, and so on. Between fragments which bear really striking resemblances to one another, others sometimes intervene. From all this he concludes that the principle, though right in the main, has been carried too far. One of the earlier collections from which ours was compiled may have been arranged, he thinks, on this principle, but certainly not all.

Thus, though the fact has been lost upon some later scholars, Fritzsche was well aware that he was after all only playing a sort of game. It is not a good game.

#### § 4. *Müller.*

In 1877 appeared a dissertation by Karl Müller entitled *De Scriptis Theognideis*. Müller favours Welcker's view that Cynos and Polypaides are to be distinguished. He observes that in two places, 25 and 191, where a couplet containing Πολυπαίδῃ ends a poem, "eo disticho quasi respondetur poetae ab altero ad ea, quae ante dixit." Yes, such an answer as the second line gives to the first in the epigram:

"Treason doth never prosper. What's the reason?  
Why, when it prospers, none dare call it treason."

Proceeding to the question of catchwords Müller rightly discards Nietzsche's and Fritzsche's method of bridging over gaps in the responsion by repetitions not found in the manuscripts. He then gives a list of all the responsions that are to be found in lines 1—1220, that is to say in all the first book less the lines added at the end from Stobaeus and Athenaeus. He explains his principles thus<sup>1</sup>: "I have made it my business to note down all the places where words identical, or similar, or sometimes similar only in sound, or equivalent in meaning, occur in neighbouring fragments." Later on he reviews his results<sup>2</sup>: "Thus, having divided up

<sup>1</sup> P. 12.

<sup>2</sup> P. 30.

the 1220 lines in question into 345 poems, we find that 186 are linked with what precedes, nearly all by identical, a few by similar words; that of the 48 poems which have no link with what precedes, 29 are connected with what follows, while in 19 all verbal copulation is lacking. As for the remaining 111 poems, they are joined to preceding poems with the intervention generally of one, less often of two, sometimes of several poems; while in quite a few cases the mere name Polypaides or Cynus must be taken as link. Often a weak verbal link is strengthened by similarity of thought. Finally there are places that have no lack of parallel words, but they are divided by unusually long intervals; where it must be supposed that the original order has been destroyed and verses shifted, yet not removed very far from their proper positions, so that quite evident traces of their old neighbourhood remain."

On this it will be well to say here that the intervention of one fragment is enough to destroy responsion, much more the intervention of two or three or more. True, the supposed compiler's methods were very lax, if Müller represents him fairly, and he was satisfied with very little. But the very weakness of many of his responsions makes it quite incredible that he should have put fragment  $(x+1)$  after fragment  $x$  in virtue of its resemblance to fragment  $(x-1)$  or  $(x-2)$  or  $(x-3)$ ; for if all that he demanded was that two adjoining fragments should begin with the same letter, or contain two not necessarily important or emphatic words of the same or similar meaning, or have the same syllable recurring in the same position, responsions would never have failed him, and he could never have been driven back to the last fragment but one or two or three.

Against the upholders of the catchword Bergk remarks<sup>1</sup>: "It was to likeness of thought, not of words, that the Greeks looked. My countrymen Welcker, Lehrs and the rest have gone far astray. Nietzsche has lately raised the ghost of the catchword theory, fancying that by this means he has restored

<sup>1</sup> *P. L. G.* ii. p. 235, n. 4.

the Theognidean poems to their original order. It is a pity that he won the ear of Fritzsche, who tries in vain to use the same methods anew." It is from this standpoint, the standpoint of one who believes the arrangement of our text to depend not on words but on thoughts, that Müller's results will here be examined in detail. It will be important to shew that resemblances of wording are often due to resemblances of thought, and that often where the continuity of the thought is broken Müller's responsions fail<sup>1</sup>.

The first four poems, lines 1—4, 5—10, 11—14, 15—18, are addresses to Phoebus, to Artemis, to the Muses and Graces. They resemble one another only so much as their character demands. Διὸς τέκος, θύγατερ Διός, κοῦραι Διός are necessary to ceremonial address, and κλύθι to prayer. With what motives these poems were originally written we need not discuss; but the compiler of our collection, Theognis himself or whoever it was, naturally put them first in order to begin the book after the manner of epic. The other invocations of gods in Theognis<sup>2</sup> were not put here because they refer to special circumstances. Müller separates 15—16 from 17—18: but the second couplet is essential to the first, and Bergk rightly joins them<sup>3</sup>.

19—26 naturally follow because they serve almost as a title-page, introducing both the author's name and the two names by which he addresses Cynos. The only verbal link with the preceding poem is ἔπος in 18 and ἔπεσιν in 20.

27—38 should probably be joined, else ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἴσθι in 31 has nothing to which it can refer. This poem follows the last as being a sort of preliminary enunciation of Theognis' teaching, and it is the last of the introductory poems. Müller gives as verbal links Κύρνε in 19 and Κύρν'

<sup>1</sup> I have chosen for fuller examination the first two hundred and the last two hundred lines as fair specimens of closer and looser arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> 731—56, 757—68, 773—82.

<sup>3</sup> R. Küllenberg (p. 26) includes τροχοειδέι λίμνη in line 7 among Theognis' new combinations of epithet and noun. But ἡ Τροχοειδὴς Λίμνη was the name of the Delian lake. See Herodotus, ii. 170: λίμνη... ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη. Callimachus calls the same lake τροχόεσσα and περιγηγής.

in 28, ἀδεῖν in 24 and ἄνδave in 26 and ἄνδave in 34. But the first Κύρνε is far from the second, and Πολυπαῖδη intervenes; ἄνδave is far on in the poem and not a prominent word.

39—42 open a new subject, and have no verbal link with the preceding poem except Κύρν' in 28 and Κύρνε in 39. Hereafter these recurrences of Κύρνε will be ignored, since the frequency of its repetition makes it absolutely worthless as a link. The only rational purpose of catchwords is to aid the memory in remembering the order of the poems. Κύρνε occurs so often that it cannot have helped the memory in the least.

39—68 are four poems dealing with one subject, the rotten state of society and the badness of the new citizens. The poems follow one another in a good order, yet shew no verbal similarities except such as are due to the subject of which they treat—πόλις ἦδε, ἄστοι οἶδε; κακός; ὕβρις, ὑβρίζειν; δίκαι; ἀπατᾶν, ἀπάται. The last of these poems warns Cyrrnus not to trust any of these new citizens in any matter of moment. 69—72 follow well, giving the same thought a more general turn, and putting it in a stronger and better form. The connexion of thought causes and is at the same time marked by the only verbal link with the preceding poem, χρήμα σπουδαῖον in 64—5 and σπουδαῖον πρήγμ' in 70.

From 69 to 128 the poems follow one another in a good and obvious sequence of thought. 69—72: "Trust not matters of moment to a bad man, but go far to find a good." 73—4: "Communicate a business not even to all thy friends; few among many are trustworthy." 75—6: "Put thy trust in few when thou hast great deeds on hand, lest thou come to incurable mischief." 77—8: "A trusty man is worth more than gold and silver in grievous dispute." 79—82: "Few comrades wilt thou find in grievous matters." 83—6: "One ship would hold all on whose lips and eyes is shame, whom gain does not seduce"—and so on. One poem supplementing another in this way, it is natural that words should recur which are essential to the subject—such words as πιστός, πίσυνος; παῦροι, οὐ τόσσους; πρήξις, πρήγμα, ἔργα; ἀνὴρ, ἑταῖρος, φίλος; θυμός, νόος; ἐσθλός,

δειλός, κακός. But in no case is there verbal responson that does not correspond to an affinity of thought<sup>1</sup>.

With 128 this string of poems ends, and we find no verbal link with 129—30 except *ἀνδρὸς* in 125 and *ἀνδρὶ* in 130; but while in 125 *ἀνδρὸς* and *γυναικός* are in contrast with *ὑποζυγίου*, in 130 *ἀνδρὶ* is quite without emphasis; and moreover *ἀντήρ*, which meets us at every turn in Theognis, is as weak a link as *Κύρνε*.

131—2 have no connexion of thought with what precedes. Müller's only verbal link is *Πολυπαῖδῃ* in 129 and *Κύρνε* in 132; he might have added *ἀνδρὶ* in 130 and *ἀνθρώποισι* in 131, and that both couplets end with *-ῃ*. With what follows they have no connexion of thought, and no verbal link except that 131—2, 133—42 and 143—4 begin with *οὐδὲν, οὐδεὶς, οὐδαίς*.

These two isolated couplets, 129—30 and 131—2, serve to mark the division between two groups of poems, 39—128 and 133—172. The first group inculcates lessons of worldly wisdom with no reference to the gods; the second looks at various matters of life in their connexion with the higher powers, and its burden is the vanity of human designs. The series opens appropriately with a general enunciation of the fact that men propose but the gods dispose (133—42). Then follow gnomes on particular aspects of this subject. 143—4: "Deceit of a guest or a suppliant escapes not the eye of the gods." 145—8: "Choose righteousness with poverty rather than ill-gotten wealth; in justice is every excellence, and every just man is noble." 149—50: "Fortune gives money to evil men as well, but excellence is found in few." 151—4: "*Τῆ βρις* is the first gift of the gods to him

<sup>1</sup> In *κίβδηλον ἀνδρός* of 117 and *κίβδηλον ἦθος* of 965 the metaphor must be given its full force, and *κίβδηλος* should be translated "counterfeit." If these are really the first appearances in Greek of a metaphor which to us is commonplace, we have yet another trace of method in the arrangement of the poems; for the use of *κίβδηλος* in its proper sense in 119 was probably meant to palliate the metaphorical use in 117.

In 965 Epkema and Bergk read *πολλοὶ τοι κίβδηλοι ἐπικλοπον ἦθος ἔχοντες κρύπτουσι*, for *κίβδηλον* of the manuscripts. But it may be doubted if an adjective used metaphorically in this way could stand thus alone, without *ἀνδρες*.

whom they purpose to destroy; "Ἰβρις is the offspring of Κόπος." 155—8: "Never in wrath reproach a man with poverty, for Zeus inclines the scale now this way, now that." 159—60: "Boast not, for no man knows what the morrow may bring." And so on. The series ends well with a couplet, which expresses tersely much the same thought as the opening poem: "Pray to the gods; the power is the gods'; without the gods cometh to men nor good nor ill." 143—8 should probably go together, as δ' in 145 suggests. 151—4 are either one poem or two poems intimately allied in thought. 167—70 should certainly be joined, as the δὲ of 169 suggests.

At the beginning and end of this group there is no verbal responsion but the most casual. 133—42, the preceding poem, and the following poem begin with οὐδέν, οὐδεὶς, οὐδεὶς: but so do at least sixteen other poems in the first book, including 165—6, which the compiler could scarcely have failed to put here if he had been using these words for his link. The only other link with what precedes is ἐν ἀνθρώποισι in 131, ἀνθρώπων in 135 and 139, and ἄνθρωποι in 141. But ἀνὴρ and ἄνθρωπος occur in almost every poem of Theognis, and no more importance is to be attached to their recurrence than to that of μέν or δέ or τε. The only link between this group and what follows is ἀνθρώποις...ἀγάθ' in 172 and ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν in 173. Inside the group the links are only such as are due to the sequence of thought. Thus θεός, ἀθάνατοι, δαίμων, Ζεὺς are common. The fact that 143—8 lead up to and are supplemented by 149—50 is marked by the repetition of χρήματα. 155—8 and 159—60 both begin with μήποτε, but that serves only to mark their connexion of thought.

There follows a series of poems all dealing with poverty and money-making (173—208). The inner connexion of 173—82 has been explained above. They speak of the evils of poverty; the following poems (183—92 and 193—6) speak of the evils of marriages made with the purpose of escaping from poverty. Then follows not inappropriately a comparison between well-gotten and ill-gotten wealth (197—208). Inside the series the links are only such as are due to the subject. With what follows there is no responsion

except *φιλοισιν* in 205 and *φίλος* in 209. But both words are quite unemphatic; *φιλοισιν* is some way from the end of its poem; and *φιλοισιν παισὶν* is different from *φίλος καὶ πιστὸς ἑταῖρος*.

Thus in the first two hundred lines the principle of catchwords is neither proved nor probable. The verbal responsions, where they do not depend on the commonest words in the poet's vocabulary, are far better explained by the connexion of thought<sup>1</sup>. The last two hundred lines will give a like result.

1003—6 have no link with what precedes; with 1007—12 they are linked by *ξυνὸν*, the significance of which was shewn above. 1013—6 follow appropriately, with the link *θανάτου* in 1010 and *Ἄιδεω* in 1014. After exhorting his fellow men to enjoy themselves while youth lasts, the poet goes on thus: "O blessed and fortunate and happy is he who goeth down to the black house of Death without knowledge of troubles, and ere he hath feared or overcome his foes of necessity<sup>2</sup> or tried the hearts of his friends." 1013—6 are not linked with what follows.

1017—22 and 1023—4 have the link *κεφαλῆς* in 1022 and *κάρη* in 1024, which is evidence for Müller.

1023—4 are not linked with what follows<sup>3</sup>. 1025—6 and 1027—8 are a pair of gnomes resembling each other in structure, and each giving a contrast between good and bad. This accounts for their juxtaposition and for the responsions *τῶν δ' ἀγαθῶν* and *τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ, πρήξεις* and *πρήξεις*. 1029—36

<sup>1</sup> J. Heinemann in *Hermes* xxxiv. p. 595: "Die Ordnung der ersten 200 Verse...ist die denkbar beste."

<sup>2</sup> *ὑπερβῆναι* (which has been much emended) looks at first sight as if it meant "trespass," "sin": but then *περ* has no meaning. *περ* makes it necessary to give *ὑπερβῆναι* the meaning "overcome." The poet is praising the sequestered life, which he prefers to the excitement of fear or even of triumph. It is not so good to have fought and won as never to have fought at all. *ἀνάγκη* goes with both verbs.

<sup>3</sup> Similar to this couplet in structure is one in the second book, 1357—8. This resemblance caused Ahrens to propose *δύσλοφον* in 1358 instead of *δύσμορον*. But the expression *ῥυγὸν δύσμορον* is natural enough, and *δύσμορον* occupies the place which it always has in Homer, the beginning of a line. The similarity of these two couplets is a link between the first book and the second.

are connected in thought with the second couplet of this pair and have reminiscences of the language of the first. In 1028 Theognis says that a good deed is hard to accomplish; in 1029—36 he consoles his heart after failure in some good deed. The connexion of thought between 1027—8 and what precedes and follows justifies the responsion of *δειλοί* in 1025 with *δειλῶν* in 1030, and the use of the comparatives *ματαιότεροι* in 1025 and *ὑπερέρη* in 1030. With the second of these comparatives those with whom the *δειλοί* are compared are not expressed but left to be inferred from what precedes.

1037—8 are to be joined with 1038 *a b*, as we saw above. By this combination is produced a link between these four lines and 1029—36: *δειλῶν* in 1030 and *δειλοῖς* in 1038 *b*. But the connexion between the two poems is more probably one of thought than of words, for here again the good and the bad are contrasted.

1039—40 have no link with what precedes.

1039—40, 1041—2, 1043—4, 1045—6, 1047—8 are all convivial, and their common purpose connects them. Yet the only responsion is *εὐδωμεν* in 1043 and *εὐδει* in 1045, which is due to the antithesis between the two couplets. One party is for sleep, the other for waking the sleepers.

The connexion between 1047—8, 1049—54 and 1055—8 seems to have been missed. The whole is clearly a drinking-song which includes a few lines of moralizing. *καλὰ λέγοντες* of 1047 points forward to 1049—54, and *ἀλλὰ λόγον μὲν τοῦτον* of 1055 refers back to the same. The whole is a sort of preface to another song accompanied by the flute: *αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ αὔλει καὶ Μουσῶν μνησόμεθ' ἀμφοτέροι* (1055). Hence such verbal responsion as there is: *καλὰ λέγοντες* and *ὑποθήσονται ἐσθλά*. Müller divides 1049—50 from 1051—4; but this leaves *ταῦτα* of 1050 meaningless. 1055—8 have no link with what follows.

1059—62 are linked with 1063—8 by *πλούτῳ* in 1062 and *πλοῦτος* in 1067, of which the latter is five lines from the beginning of its poem. These are followed appropriately by 1069—70, and these by 1070 *a b*. The responsion of *ἦβῃ* and *ἦβῃς* is due to the connexion of thought.



1070 *a b* are linked with 1071—4 by ἄλλοι in 887 and ἀλλοῖος in 1073, but neither word is emphatic or prominent, and ἀλλοῖος is not near the beginning of its poem.

After 1074 Nietzsche proposes to repeat 873—6, and Müller accepts this with one other (after 1100) of his proposed repetitions. "873—6 hier sehr wahrscheinlich zu ergänzen," says Nietzsche; but in what respect this insertion is more probable than any other of the many that he suggests he does not explain. It is true that there would be responsion between 873—6 and 1071—4; but there would be none between 873—6 and 1075—8<sup>1</sup>. Moreover the subject of 873—6 has no bearing either upon 1071—4 or upon 1075—8. Thus Müller was no more justified here than elsewhere in forsaking his principles for Nietzsche's proposals.

If we trust the manuscripts responsion fails between 1071—4, 1075—8, 1079—80, 1081—1082 *b*, 1082 *c*—1084, 1085—6, 1087—90. ἡγεμόνα of 1082 and ἡγεμόνες of 1082 *a* are in the same poem<sup>2</sup>. So with νόον ἔχε of 1082 *c* and νόημα ἔχειν of 1083—4; for 1082 *c*—*f* must be joined with 1083—4, else οὕτω in 1083 has no meaning.

1087—90 are a prayer to Castor and Polydeuces<sup>3</sup>. "If ever I plot aught of harm against a friend, may I myself get it; but if he aught against me, may he get twice as much." This is followed appropriately by 1091—1104, four poems which condemn the treachery of Cynus, who has been led away by another. Hence the responsion of φίλω, φιλότητος, φιλεῖν, φίλος, φιλεῖν, φιλότητος, φιλήν. Other responsion there is none.

Responsion fails between 1101—4, 1104 *a*—1106 (which go together), 1107—8, 1109—14, 1114 *a b*. This last couplet begins a series of poems referring to poverty, not in a general way, but with reference to some particular distress that befell

<sup>1</sup> Nietzsche joins 1075—8 and 1079—80, but this is manifestly wrong; the two poems are on quite different subjects.

<sup>2</sup> See above, and Bergk's note.

<sup>3</sup> See the text. This poem has been ascribed to a Laconian poet. But any Greek might pray to Castor and Polydeuces; and any Greek who had been kindly entertained at Sparta (see 785) would tend to mention the chief seat of their worship.

the poet and to the taunts of some person unknown. They shew only such responsion as is due to their common subject: *πενίης, χρήματα, Πλούτε, πλούτῳ, κακῶν*.

Again there is no responsion between 1129—32, 1133—4, 1135—50, 1151—2, 1153—4.

1153—4 and 1155—6 are two contrary prayers similar in subject and structure; hence their responsion. Wealth suggests an analogy between wealth and wisdom, 1157—60, whence the repetition of *πλούτος*.

Responsion fails between 1157—60, 1160 *a b*, 1161—2, 1162 *a—f*, 1163—4, 1164 *a—d*, 1164 *e—h*, 1165—6. The groups 1160 *a*—1162 *f* and 1163—1164 *h* were considered above. The latter is followed appropriately by 1165—70, three warnings against evil companions. Their only responsions are due to their subject<sup>1</sup>.

1171—6 follow naturally after 1170. Though they do not actually say that Cyrenus has been led by *κόρος* into *κακότης*, their position suggests that they are directed against Cyrenus as well as addressed to him. This connexion of thought accounts for the responsions *ἀθανάτους* in 1170 and *θεοὶ* in 1171, *πείρατα* in 1172 and *πείραν* in 1178; but in any case *ἀθάνατοι* and *θεοὶ* are among the commonest words in Theognis, and the slight outward resemblance of *πείρατα* and *πείραν* could form a link only if the positions of the words were more prominent.

After this a mistake of Bekker's provides Müller with two responsions. In the true order of the poems responsions completely fail between 1178 and 1187.

The next two poems, 1187—90 and 1191—4, both begin with *οὐ-*, and *θάνατον* of 1187 answers to *θανόντι* of 1193. The former link might have some value if Bekker's order were right, for then *three* consecutive poems would begin with *οὐ-*, but in the light of the true order it is worthless; the latter is due to connexion of thought, for mention of the impossibility of escape from death is followed appropriately by mention of burial.

<sup>1</sup> The mistake of supposing that the manuscripts repeat 95—6 here as well as 97—100 gives Müller responsions between 1163—4 and the next two poems.

The last eight poems of the first book (as it appears in the manuscripts) shew the following responsions:—*κεκλήσεται* in 1203 and *καλοῦμεν* in 1207; *ἀπερύκομεν* in 1207 and *ἀπερυκόμενος* in 1210; *πόλιν* in 1209 and *πόλις* in 1215; 1211—6 and 1217—8 both begin with *μή*. The third of these is worthless, since *πόλις* is in the fifth line of its poem; the fourth is of little value; but the first and second must be put down to Müller's account.

The rest of the first book, lines 211—1002, may be considered in brief.

Many poems interrupt the sequence of catchwords, having no link with their neighbours:—211—2, 219—20, 235—6<sup>1</sup>, the six poems 293—308, 331—2, 335—6, 351—4, 371—2, 527—8, the three poems 541—8, the eight or nine poems 557—78, the three poems 583—94, 607—10, the four poems 647—56, 693—4, 769—72, 805—10, the four poems 817—24, the four poems 845—54, 885—6, the five poems 889—902, 933—8, the two poems 959—70. Further, very many poems are linked only with what precedes, or only with what follows. Between many others the responsion is too weak to serve any useful purpose. Thus the fourth line of the poem 227—32 ends with *ἀφροσύνη*, the first line of the next contains *κενεόφρονι*. But in the former poem folly is not of the first importance, for it is mentioned only as the middle term between wealth and *ἄτη*; while the language of the latter must have compelled such a compiler as Müller imagines, if he had the whole of the first book at his disposal, to put 233—4 next to 773 or to 847. In 257, again, *καλή* is too weak a word to serve as link, and *κάκιστον ἄνδρα φέρω* has little in common with the words *ἀνὴρ, κακίων, φέρει*, scattered over three lines of the next poem. *ἐχθρὴ* is 270 is forgotten long before *ἐχθαίρουσι* is reached in 277, the seventh line of its poem. 277 and 281 end with the same syllables, *-έσθαι*, but three lines intervene. The resemblance between *ἐκ γαστρός...γεγόνῃ* of 300 and *ἐκ γαστρός γεγόνασιν* of 305, in

<sup>1</sup> In 236, to give responsion with what follows, Müller reads *αἰλός*, a bad conjecture made and afterwards abandoned by Bergk.

the next poem but two, is only superficial, and the interval is too great for a verbal echo. Against 401—6 Müller prints “ἀρετὴν κέρδος. 16. εὐμαρέως. 15.”—that is to say, he thinks that the common juxtaposition of ἀρετὴν and κέρδος and the use of the common word εὐμαρέως have something to do with the use of εὐμαρέως fifteen poems later, in 463, and the juxtaposition of ἀρετῇ and κέρδος sixteen poems later, in 465—6. This reduces his method to an absurdity. δῶρ’ of 446 and -δωρ of 448 are not prominent in themselves or by position, and they differ in accent, place in the line, and metrical stress. Links as good as this might be found between any poem and every other. Equally null is the responsion between σώφρων of 454 and σύμφρον of 457. But enough.

The following list contains perhaps all the catchwords in lines 211—1002 which can be granted to Müller without demur. ποδός in 282 and πόδα in 283 (this Müller does not notice). νόφ in 365 and νόον in 367. φῦναι in 425 and φῦσαι in 429 (the most striking of all). The two hexameters of 535—8 begin with οὐ ποτε and οὔτε, 539—40 with οὔτος. 611—4, 615—6 and 617—8 begin with οὐ-; 619—20, 621—2, 623—4 with π-; 625—6 and 627—8 with α-<sup>1</sup>. τελέσαι in 690 answers to τελέσειας in 691 (another striking responsion). 783—8 and 789—92 are linked by τέρψις in 787 and τερποίμην in 791. 825—30, 831—2 and 833—6 begin with π-, and ἀπολλύμενον in 830 answers to ὄλεσσα in 831.

Far more and clearer are the resemblances of language which depend upon the kinship of subject between neighbouring poems, and serve at the same time to set it in a stronger light. Since these provide many clues to the principles on which the poems are arranged, it will not be waste of time to examine them at length.

That 213—8 are one poem is as certain as any matter of taste can be<sup>2</sup>. Even if 213—4 are separate, the second poem

<sup>1</sup> Those who hold that one of the resemblances by which the compiler arranged his fragments was identity of their first letter appeal more especially to this part of the text. Yet two of the three ω- poems, two of the three π- poems, and the two α- poems are connected by other than verbal links.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Heinemann, *Hermes* xxxiv. 1899, p. 593, note.

supplements the first; and this accounts for the similarities of language.

227—32 are probably a part or a corollary of the preceding poem, as the δ' of 227 suggests; they catch up *κακοκερδήσιν*. But even if they are a separate poem, the verbal responsion is very weak. Neither *ἄφρων* of 223 nor *ἀφροσύνη* of 230 is in a prominent position. *πλούτου*, the first word of 227, is the keynote of its poem, and the compiler could hardly have neglected it in his search for catchwords.

253—4 positively must go with 237—52, but Müller cuts them off, thereby making another gap in his system.

283—92 are best taken together. In 288 A has *ωσδετοσσαιει*, O has *ὥς δὲ τὸ σῶσαι οἱ*. Bergk follows O, leaving hiatus between *οἱ* and *πολλοὶ*; but *πολλοὶ* is what is wanted, not *οἱ πολλοὶ*, "the multitude." This, and the need of an object to *σῶσαι*, point to *ὥς δέ τι σῶσ' αἰεὶ πολλοὶ ἀνολβότεροι*, which differs from A's reading only by one letter. The connexion between 287—8 and the neighbouring couplets then appears. In 283—6 the poet says that none of the townsfolk is to be trusted even on his oath. In 287—92 he gives his reasons: "For in a city so critical naught finds favour; and while many are always less lucky than one in keeping a secret, now good men's bad things are noble to bad men; they follow strange customs; for shame hath perished, and shamelessness and insolence have conquered right and reign throughout the land." Keep your own counsel; for, firstly, you will find little sympathy here; secondly, it is always hard for many to keep a secret, but never harder than now when shame is dead. *νῦν δὲ* in 289 answers to *αἰεὶ* in 288; the general rule is followed by a particular instance<sup>1</sup>. If with Bergk and Müller we make three poems ending at 286, 288 and 292, the only verbal responsion is *ἀστῶν* of 283 and *πόλει* of 287.

<sup>1</sup> In 287 *κακοφύγῃ*, which occurs nowhere else, has been much emended. Probably Theognis invented the word for the occasion. It naturally means "fond of blaming what is bad," "stern in criticism of faults"; and of course it is here ironical (as with us "critical" often means "hypercritical"). Thus interpreted it is far better than anything that has been put in its place.

309—12 and 313—4 are a pair of poems illustrating the wisdom of adapting oneself to one's company. This is the reason for their juxtaposition, and the poet marks their connexion of thought by beginning both poems with *ἐν μὲν*. They have no link of language or meaning with what precedes or with what follows. The same is true of the next two poems, 315—8 and 319—22, another pair. 315—8 belong, as some say, to Solon; but it has been shewn above that they are borrowed from Solon by Theognis, who uses them for a purpose of his own, and adds 319—22 to fix the meaning which he would give them. *ἀρετή*, which endures for ever, is better than wealth, which comes and goes, because the good man's moral strength endures for ever, and neither good nor ill fortune can undo him; while the bad man's riches only lead him into folly. The connexion between the two poems is marked by the use in both of *ἀγαθός* and *κακός* and *πλοῦτος*, and by the repetition of *ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ*, which in both places ends a hexameter. How *ἀρετή* is *ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ* is just the point which the second poem explains. Solon meant that *ἀρετή* without wealth is better than wealth without *ἀρετή*: Theognis by his second poem shews that *ἀρετή* is as necessary with wealth as without it, since the *κακός* for lack of *ἀρετή* is spoilt by wealth. Thus these two poems are important both as shewing how Theognis deals with borrowed poems, and as a strong piece of evidence in support of the view that the text is arranged in accordance with real relationships of thought, not empty resemblances of words.

323—8, which follow, are a difficult poem, and in the last lines various emendations have been made which remove the responson of *θεοί* in 328 with *θεῶν* in 330. But if we keep the reading of the manuscripts, the meaning must be: "men must not judge one another too severely, though the gods are loth to pardon sin." 329—30 will then follow naturally: "the slow man can overtake and destroy the swift if the justice of heaven goes with him."

The next couplet has no verbal links. Then follows another pair of poems, 332 *a b* and 333—4, which look at friendship with an exile from two points of view. *φείροντι*

and *φεύγοντ'*, *φίλος* and *φιλήσης* are necessary to this subject. 335—6 have no links. 337—40 and 341—50 probably go together<sup>1</sup>, as the *ἀλλά* of 341 suggests<sup>2</sup>; and in any case the responsion of *Ζεὺς μοι...δοίη* with *Ζεῦ...δὸς...μοι* and *τίσιν* with *τίσις* is due to connexion of subject. After another isolated poem come 355—8 and 359—60, which should be joined, as the *μηδὲ* of 359 suggests. Even if they are two poems the second supplements the first; and the first is necessary to the second, else *ἐπίφαινε* in 359 has nothing to govern. Thus the repetition of *κακόν* is *inside* a poem or pair of poems which has no link with its neighbours. The larger group 355—66, if it is not one poem, is at any rate a series of poems on the same subject. Cyrnus is in distress, and in 355—60 Theognis bids him bear and hide his misfortunes. 361—6 advise him of the best way to avenge himself on an enemy, perhaps the enemy who caused his troubles. Certainly 361—2 and 363—4 are connected; whence the responsion of *ἀποτινυμένου* with *τίσαι*. The responsion of *κραδίη μινύθει* in 361 with *τελέθει καρδίη* in 366 is not strong, and is destroyed if 363—4 are separated from 365—6; while if 361—6 are joined it is *inside* a poem.

After two short poems come 373—400, which present many difficulties<sup>3</sup>. To begin with the end, Bergk's reading in 399—400 is very far from A; the reading of the other manuscripts is evidently a poor attempt to mend the passage. If we follow A, *ἐντράπελ'* must conceal a proper name, and 399—400 must go with what precedes<sup>4</sup>. This is quite possible grammatically, and it is favoured by the *δὲ* of 399. But an address at the end of a poem is unusual unless there is one at

<sup>1</sup> I do not mean that the fourteen lines must necessarily be printed continuously. Perhaps it is better to treat them as forming together a poem of two stanzas.

<sup>2</sup> *ἀλλά*, however, is not adversative but hortative here, as in *ἀλλ' ἄγε, ἀλλ' ἴθι*; compare 551, and Pindar *Ol.* vi. 22 ὦ Φίλις, ἀλλὰ ζεύξων ἤδη μοι σθένος ἡμύνων, where is no contrast. 341—50 give fresh strength to the wish of 337—40: "Come, Zeus, grant me my prayer, and give me vengeance on my foes."

<sup>3</sup> *Ζεῦ φίλε* in 373 is perhaps unique in serious poetry; but it is quite in keeping with the flippant earnestness of this poem. "My dear Zeus, I am surprised at you."

<sup>4</sup> *ἔπος ἐντράπελον* is the reading of the manuscripts in Pindar, *Pythian* iv. 105.

the beginning also. Now 391—2 are quite impossible as they stand. *κακὸν δέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἔοικεν* cannot be given any satisfactory meaning; *ἡ γάρ*, referring back to *πενίην* in 384, is intolerably awkward, for *χρημοσύνη* has intervened; and *τίκτει ἀμνηχανίην* is nothing but a feeble repetition of *μητέρ' ἀμνηχανίης*. All these difficulties vanish if we suppose the end of one poem and the beginning of another to have fallen out after 391. *κακὸν δέ οἱ οὐδὲν ἔοικεν*, which cannot stand alone, may have been the beginning of a sentence. The lost beginning of the second poem would contain the word *πενίη*, to which *ἡ γάρ* must refer; and 393 continues the poem. What then is the relation between the two poems? 383—91 speak of the results of poverty, but they do not distinguish between its effect on the good man and on the bad; they take quite a general view. The poem to which 392—400 belong contained a distinction between the effects of poverty on men of different moral worth. Thus the second poem was supplementary to the first, and this connexion was marked by the words *τίκτει ἀμνηχανίην*, which echo *μητέρ' ἀμνηχανίης*. The relation of 373—80 to 381—2 and 383—91 is doubtful. Some have thought that 380 should be followed at once by 383, 381—2 being wrongly inserted in the middle of the poem. But 381—2 are evidently on the same subject as 377—80. Perhaps something has fallen out after 382. But even if 373—82 and 383—91 are not one poem, they are sufficiently related in thought to justify their juxtaposition. As Bergk and Müller divide the lines, 373—80 have no link with what precedes or with what immediately follows; 381—2 are quite isolated; 383—92 have no link with what precedes—the responson of *τολμᾷ* in 377 with *τολμᾷ* in 388 is in any case very weak, and it is quite destroyed by the intervention of 381—2. The verbal resemblances of 383—92 and 393—98 are due to the similarity of subject. 399—400 have no link with what precedes.

After an isolated poem of six lines follow four interesting poems, 407—14. They have no link with what precedes or follows, but they have a certain amount of responson with one another. 407—8 are linked with 409—10 by *ἀγαθῆς* and



*ἀγαθοῖς* (a link which Müller has missed), 409—10 with 411—2 by a close resemblance of structure; 413—4 have no link with 411—2. Taken by themselves 413—4 are not very satisfactory, and *δ'* is superfluous. But if we regard these eight lines as a series of couplets connected so closely as to form one poem in all but structure, we see the purpose of their verbal resemblances, and 413—4 are explained. "The fault was all your own," says Theognis in 407—8, referring to something that had happened to Cynrus. In the next two couplets he says that *αἰδώς*, respect felt for others, or felt by others for oneself, is as good a legacy as a man can bequeath to his children; and that judgment and ability are things to be desired in a comrade. "But," he goes on, "even in my cups I will never bring a grievous charge against you." This is a common figure of speech. Instead of an accusation is expressed a refusal to make the accusation. Theognis means us of course to understand that *αἰδώς*, *γνώμη* and *δύναμις* are the very qualities in which Cynrus has fallen short. 415—8 follow appropriately. Having said that certain qualities are desirable in a comrade, and hinted that Cynrus has them not, the poet goes on to say that he can find nobody worthy to be his comrade. This poem has no verbal link with the preceding, for *ἔπος* in 414 and *λόγος* in 418 form a weak responsion at best, and moreover this may be one of the few cases where A, the only authority for *λόγος*, is at fault. Like 409 and 411, 415 begins with *οὐδεν*:- but then on Müller's view a poem has intervened. The responsion of *ἑταῖρος* in 411 with *ἑταῖρον* in 416 is open to the same objection; it is really due to the connexion of thought.

419—20 and 421—4 both begin with *πολλ*-, and *σιγῶ* of 420 answers to *γλώσση θύραι οὐκ ἐπικεινται* of 421. But the two poems are on the same subject, the wisdom of bridling one's tongue, and they gain by being put together. The first says, "I know when to be silent"; the second, "many men do not." Theognis marks this connexion by *πολλοῖς*, an echo of *πολλά*.

441—6 should perhaps go with what precedes, as *γὰρ* suggests; but if they are to be kept separate, this is another

gap in Müller's system, for they have no verbal responsion with 439—40. Next comes an isolated poem of six lines, and then 461—2 and 463—4, a pair: "do not aim at impossible things, but do not be content with easy things." Hence the responsion of *χρήμασι* with *χρήμα*. Another isolated couplet is followed by a set of poems concerning wine; and here we come for the first time upon a poem which departs so far from the gnomic character as to describe a scene. Three such poems come close together. It is surely no accident that each of these is followed by a short gnome appropriate to it. We can even discern a proportion between the descriptive poems and the gnomes; for the first, of thirty lines, is followed by six lines, the third, of twelve, by four, the second, of six, by two. It is as if the poet had felt some compunction at introducing poems of this character into a collection which had hitherto been strictly gnomic, and had added to each a gnomic appendix by way of justification. The word *οἶνος* is of course common in 467—510, but they shew no further verbal responsion. 467—96 are certainly one poem, as in Bergk's text. The poet tells Simonides to let each man of the company do as he pleases, go or stay, sleep or wake; but, for his own part, he will go home while he is still sober, and he warns Simonides too to be moderate; and he ends with a farewell, a wish that the party may continue to enjoy themselves in his absence. Thus the repetitions *ὑπνος* and *ὑπνου*, *μέτρον* and *μέτρον*, *μυθεῖται* and *μυθεῖσθε* are *inside* the poem, and need no excuse. Müller sees responsion between *νικάτω* of 466 and *ἀνίκητος* in 491, but this is worthless since *ἀνίκητος* is twenty-four lines from the beginning of its poem. 497—502 should probably go together. After the first couplet the poet introduces a simile of gold and silver, and then reverts to the thought of the first couplet; whence the recurrence of *ὑπὲρ μέτρον* and *οἶνος*. 509—10 end the series. Then comes the difficult poem 511—22. The only link with what precedes is the triple *ἦν δέ τις* of 509, 515 and 519. It is true that *ἦν δέ τις* occurs in the same place in the verse in 509 and 515; but the phrase itself is such an ordinary and insignificant combination of small words that

no importance can be attached to this accident. This poem confesses the poet's poverty, and it is appropriately followed by 523—6, which complain that wealth and virtue do not go together. If 523—4 mean anything they must be ironical. "Wealth, with good cause do men honour thee, for verily with ease dost thou bear with badness." In 525—6 the irony is dropped: "for it is fitting that good men should have wealth also, but poverty is a burden meet for a bad man to bear." The second couplet interprets the first; hence the verbal echoes.

531—2 should certainly be joined with 533—4, and 535—6 with 537—8, as the δ' of 533 and the γὰρ of 537 suggest<sup>1</sup>. Thus φθεγγομένων, εὐφθογγον, αὐλῶν and αὐλητήρος are all inside one poem, δουλείη and δούλης both inside another. 535—8: "Never is a slave's head straight-grown, but always crooked, with neck askew; for neither from a squill do roses grow or hyacinths, nor from a slave mother a free-spirited child."

579—80 and 581—2 are a kind of dialogue, as von Leutsch pointed out; hence the repetition of ἐχθαίρω and the contrast between ἄνδρα and γυναῖκα. It does not seem to have been noticed that 583—4 have a clear connexion with this dialogue. The first two couplets represent the two sides of a quarrel, the third the reconciliation. Compare Horace, *Odes* iii. 9, where in lines 1—16 the man and the woman tell each other that their love is past, while in 17—22 they are reconciled. Why the fact that 579—80 gives a woman's complaint and 581—2 the man's counter complaint should be taken as proof that the two couplets are by different hands, it is hard to see. A poet must be allowed to change from one character to another when it pleases him. On similar grounds the several parts of *The Ring and the Book* might be ascribed to different writers, and Tennyson's poem *All Things Will Die* regarded as another poet's counterblast to *Nothing Will Die*.

Reitzenstein regards 597—8 as an answer to 595—6, just

<sup>1</sup> 531—4 are joined by Bekker and Welcker, 535—8 by Bekker, Welcker and Ziegler.

as 581—2 are the answer to 579—80. One man says: "let us be comrades, but at a distance"; the other replies: "nay, let us be *friends*, and for long, only keep thou company with others." He supposes the two couplets to be the work of two different poets, of whom the second supplied an answer to the first. But such an answer—little better than a *tu quoque*—is very feeble, especially as *καὶ* is out of place, since *φίλοι* certainly does not imply a greater degree of friendship between one man and another than *ἐταῖροι*. Much more probably the second couplet *reinforces* the first. "Fellow, let us be comrades from afar...; let us e'en be friends for as long as thou wilt—only keep thou company with others who know thy mind better than I." Then in 599—602 the poet goes on to bring a charge of treachery against the friend whom he is renouncing. Thus 595—602 are one poem or a group. Reitzenstein's view explains only the connexion between 595—6 and 597—8, not the connexion between these and 599—602. It might be suggested that 599—600 and 601—2 also are charge and countercharge; but in that case the second repartee would be even weaker than the first. 595—602 have no verbal response with what precedes or follows.

603—4 and 605—6 are linked by *ἀπώλεσεν* and *ᾤλεσεν*. But the two couplets are certainly connected in thought. In 605 *λιμοῦ* and *κόρος* are of course metaphorical, and it is *κόρος* and its offspring *ὑβρις* that destroyed Magnesia and will destroy Megara. Thus the second couplet supplements the first. Hence the verbal link.

The connexion between 611—4 and 615—6 is of the utmost importance for the present purpose.

οὐ χαλεπὸν ψέξαι τὸν πλησίον, οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτὸν  
αἰνῆσαι· δειλοῖς ἀνδράσι ταῦτα μέλει·  
σιγᾶν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι κακοὶ κατὰ λεσχάζοντες·  
οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ πάντων μέτρον ἴσασιν ἔχειν.  
οὐδένα παμπήδην ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέτριον ἄνδρα  
τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἥελιος καθορᾷ.

Before Theognis the word *μέτριος* seems to occur once only,

in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 306: σοὶ δ' ἔργα φίλ' ἔστω μέτρια κοσμεῖν. It is never found in Pindar or Bacchylides, once only in Aeschylus, twice in Sophocles; in Euripides many times. Applied to persons it is very rare. In Herodotus, ii. 32, we find ἄνδρας μικροῦς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, "dwarfish men, smaller than men of ordinary size," which is just like the use of μέτριος in i. 178, ὁ δὲ βασιλῆος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πῆχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι, "the ordinary cubit." In fact the word most commonly refers to *size* in the fifth century. Nothing like Theognis' use of the word seems to occur before the last play of Aristophanes, the *Plutus*, where, in line 245, μετρίου ἀνδρός is the happy mean between the miser and the spendthrift. So in Xenophon, Plato and others it means temperate in desires. In Demosthenes, *de Corona* § 10, τῶν μετρίων means "respectable people."

Thus Theognis' use of the word—he has it only here—is far in advance of his age. How is this to be explained? Once more we have a proof that neighbouring but grammatically independent poems are to be interpreted in the light of one another. The last line of the preceding poem is οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ πάντων μέτρον ἴσασιν ἔχειν, "the good know how to keep measure in all things." Theognis then goes on to another poem, a corollary of this last: "on none doth the sun look down who is altogether good and *measure-keeping* of the men of to-day." The ἀγαθὸς καὶ μέτριος, the man who πάντων μέτρον οἶδεν ἔχειν, is hard to find. The reference to the preceding line is beyond all doubt. The word μέτριος existed already, but not in this sense. Theognis does not coin a new word, but stamps a new character on an old word for the occasion. μέτριον in fact means exactly πάντων μέτρον εἰδὸτα ἔχειν. Without the preceding line it would have been barely intelligible: it is only the preceding line which justifies and explains the novel use. On the other hand, how does the matter stand if our collection is a patchwork of fragments arranged by catchwords? The chances are very strongly against the supposition that here the arbitrary method of the compiler has restored by accident an original combination which was due to Theognis himself.

If it was the compiler who put 615 after 614, the one cannot safely be used in the interpretation of the other, and μέτριον must stand on its own merits. The question then is this: is it more likely that Theognis, in the only place where he uses the word, gave it a new meaning without any palliation from the context, and that chance has placed it immediately after a line which completely justifies it; or that this justification was due to Theognis himself? Surely the latter is much more probable. Here then is a strong proof of the soundness of the principle on which these criticisms of Müller's system rest. In this one case at least our text puts a poem immediately after another without which it cannot be fully understood. 615—6 are a pessimistic corollary to 611—4. Compare 635—6, where the corollary is bound up both by syntax and by metre with the proposition:

ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔπεται γνώμη τε καὶ αἰδώς.  
οἱ νῦν ἐν πολλοῖς ἀτρεκέως ὀλίγοι<sup>1</sup>.

Hence we see that such a combination of general aphorism and particular afterthought may be given by our poet either within the compass of a couplet and in sentences grammatically connected, or in two poems each in syntax and metre self-sufficient. How much follows from this fact it is needless to point out.

619—20 and 621—2 are two of three consecutive poems beginning with π-, and they are linked by πενίης and πενιχρόν; but then they are both about poverty.

The likeness of 625—6 to 627—8 is rather structural than verbal. The hexameters are similar in rhythm, and the first half of each pentameter is made up of long syllables. Moreover each couplet contains an antithesis. This suggests that the two couplets are a *pair*; that one was modelled on the other and put next to it by the poet himself<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *of*, which has the authority of Stobaeus, is a certain correction of *οὐ*.

<sup>2</sup> Note by the way that in 627 *νήφοσι μείναι*, which is read by Bergk and Sitzler, is only a conjecture made by von Leutsch, though van der Mey claims for it the authority of A: see my critical note. *μείναι* introduces a bad antithesis which might pass if it had any authority; but to foist it upon Theognis in

There follow, in 629—36, three gnomes on *θυμός* and *νόος* and a fourth akin to them. Beyond *θυμός* and *νόος*, which are necessary to their subject, they have no link with one another; with their neighbours they have no link worthy of the name. Then come two couplets on hope, and three on friends in need, with verbal respersions due to these subjects. Between 649 and 666 respersion fails. 649—52, 653—4, 655—6 have no connexion of subject; but 657—8 are a fit prelude to 659—66, which begin with *οὐδ'*, and no doubt Sitzler is right in printing 657—66 as one poem. "Be not too much cast down in hardships nor puffed up in success, for to bear all things is the temper for a good man. And 'tis not wise to swear, 'This thing shall never be'; for the gods are wroth, with whom is consummation. Yet 'tis wise to act'. Good may come from bad and bad from good; poor men have got wealth on a sudden, and he who possessed much hath lost his all in a night; the prudent man may err, and renown hath often waited on a fool, and even a bad man may come to honour." *πρᾶγμα* of 659 and *πρῆξαι* of 661 are in the same poem. 667—82 again are certainly one poem, as in the texts of Bekker, Bergk, Ziegler, Sitzler and Hiller. With what precedes they have no respersion worthy of the name. After an isolated poem come 687—8 and 689—90, two couplets more alike in structure and purport than in language; so that the similar beginnings *οὐκ ἔστι* and *οὐ χρῆ* of the hexameters and *οὐδὲ* and *οὐδ'* of the pentameters were probably meant to mark the fact that the two couplets are a pair.

697—8 are a prelude to 699—718; perhaps 697—718 are one poem, as the *δ'* of 699 suggests. There is no verbal link. The respersion of *πλοῦτος* in 718 with *πλουτοῦσιν* in 719 is due to subject. 699—718 give the popular estimate of wealth, 719—28 the poet's own. The two poems, like 1153—4 and

defiance of the manuscripts and Stobaeus is not wise. Moreover *μεῖναι* is really inappropriate in the hexameter, since it is the drunken man's misfortune that he is no longer the steward (to speak after the manner of Theognis) of his own movements, either for staying or for going home.

<sup>1</sup> "*χρῆ* ex v. 659 iterandum," Bergk.

1155—6, are put together for the sake of contrast. 729—30 is an isolated couplet (the prettiest in the book). 731—42 and 743—52 are one poem or a pair of poems, a protest or two protests against the injustices of the gods' administration of the world. This accounts for the responson of ἀτασθαλῖαι with ἀτάσθαλος, and the repetition of μή τι ν' ὑπερβασίην. The first period or poem asks why the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children; the second, beginning with καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστι δίκαιον..., asks why the just man is without his reward. 753—6 are a sort of illogical (perhaps ironical) epilogue to 731—52, to which ταῦτα μαθῶν and τῶνδ' ἐπέων must refer; hence the echoes ἀτασθαλῆς and θυμὸν ἔχων.

In the following lines, 757—68, is the first mention of the Medes, who reappear in the next poem but one. It is strong evidence against the theory of catchwords that in spite of this striking resemblance these two poems are separated by four lines with which they have no affinity of language or thought. If to the man who used catchwords is due the present arrangement of the text, why did he resist the claims of these two poems to be put next to each other? If his arrangement has since been disturbed by the insertion of fragments with which he had nothing to do, what purpose can have led anybody to thrust an alien poem between poems so closely related as these? On the other hand Theognis himself (unless *he* was guided by catchwords) had no reason to put the second poem immediately after the first; but near the first he may have placed it because he *composed* it soon after the first. The Persian peril was not hanging over Theognis throughout his career, but only at one period; and the fact that his two notices of it are so near each other is a trace of chronological order which must not be overlooked. Not that the order is chronological throughout the book; but the chronological order may have been kept when there was no motive for disturbing it. 783—8 should certainly be joined with what precedes, as the γὰρ of 783 suggests. After praying Phoebus to guard Megara from the Medes, Theognis adds a confession of preference for his own city over all



others; for though he had visited many lands, and received a welcome there, he had found that after all nothing was dearer to him than his fatherland<sup>1</sup>. These visits may have been due to banishment, or to dislike of the governing power at home; they lessened his right to be the spokesman of his city in a time of danger; and he thought, no doubt, that these absences, and perhaps some unpatriotic poems, demanded a palinode<sup>2</sup>. Thus the responson of *τερπόμενοι* in 778 with *τέρψις* in 787, whatever its value, is inside a poem. The occurrence of *τερποίμην* in 791 is in Müller's favour, as was admitted above. After these comes *τέρπε* in 795, but that is a reference to *τερποίμην* which depends solely on the relation between 789—92 and 793—6, another pair of poems. 789—92 express a wish, with optatives in the first person; 792—6 give advice, with imperatives in the second. Each poem begins with a negative clause; in each the second half of the second line contains *ἀλλὰ* and a present participle; and the third lines begin with *τερποίμην* and *τὴν σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε*. The first poem desires the pleasures of virtue and culture, the second recommends pleasure accompanied by righteousness; and the similarity of structure marks this relation of subject. The second poem is complete and not complete. "Harm neither foreigner nor native with deeds of mischief, but being righteous do thine own heart's pleasure; of thy fellows one will speak ill of thee, another well." A mixture of praise and blame is not in itself an attractive reward, but only by comparison with oblivion; and that comparison is given in the following couplet: "Good men one praises, another blames; but of bad men is no memory at all." The idea of the hexameter is carried a stage further in the next couplet, which is introduced by *δ'*: "No

<sup>1</sup> "I travelled among unknown men,  
In lands beyond the sea;  
Nor, England! did I know till then  
What love I bore to thee."—WORDSWORTH.

<sup>2</sup> In 785 Theognis calls the Eurotas *δονακοτρόφος*, an adjective applied by Corinna to the Ladon. As he had visited Sparta, he did not choose the word at random. Euripides, who calls the Eurotas *δονακοτρόφος*, *δονακόχλοος*, *δονακβεῖς*, *καλλιδόναξ*, may have owed to Theognis his knowledge of the river's reeds.

man on earth is free from blame, but the fewer a man annoys the better"<sup>1</sup>. Every good man gets blame as well as praise, but the best man gets most praise and least blame. The following poem sums up the matter, adding nothing new but an effective comparison between men and Zeus, which recalls the poet's answer to his critics in 25—26. Thus 789—804 are a group of poems carefully arranged. 789—92 and 793—6 form a pair; 797—8 and 799—800 form a pair (or perhaps a single poem); these two pairs form a pair; and 801—4 serve as epilogue to the whole<sup>2</sup>.

837—40 and 841—4 are another pair of poems, linked by words essential to their subject. In the first the poet says that he will steer his course midway between thirst and drunkenness; in the second he says that if wine brings him into conflict with an enemy, he will get the better of him and then go home at once. 843—4 must go with 841—2, else *γένηται* has no subject.

861—4 have never been satisfactorily explained. They have the look of a riddle, and many solutions have been proposed,—“a courtesan” or “night,” for instance—but none which accounts for *ἀνδρῶν φαινόμενων* in 862. If *ἀνδρῶν* is right<sup>3</sup>, the poem must refer to some non-human companion of man—a domestic pet. “My friends forsake me and will not feed me when visitors come in. Very well: I will go my own way, leaving the house at evening and coming in at dawn

<sup>1</sup> In 800 the text is uncertain. For the meaning of *μέλοι* compare *Odyssey* v. 6, etc.; *Theognis* 1320 (as it stands in A), 1376, and perhaps 296.

<sup>2</sup> 819—20 have given trouble. In the Homeric poems *πολυάρητος* means “much desired.” The word has been variously emended in our passage. Bergk thinks *κακὸν* corrupt, “nisi statuas poetam *ἄξυμῶρον* figura usum esse.” *πολυάρητων* is probably right, and the poet does use oxymoron, though perhaps not of the kind which Bergk supposed. *Theognis* and *Cyrnus* have fallen into some difficulty whence there is no escape but death, and they are in the mood to welcome death. *λάβοι* is optative of wish. “We are come into a mischief where I would most lief that death should take us both together.” What the situation was it is idle to guess. For the oxymoron compare *Sophocles, Trachiniae* 1039, *Ajax* 394, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Two manuscripts have in the margin the gloss *ἔχουν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἡμέρας*, and accordingly *ἀστρων* has been suggested in place of *ἀνδρῶν*. But doubtless the gloss was meant as an explanation of *ὀρθρίη* and the following line.

when the cocks awake and crow." A connexion then appears between this poem and the last. In 857—60 the poet complains that his friends are fair-weather friends; in 861—4 he compares himself to a pet which is petted only when its masters have nothing better to do. This connexion is marked by the similar beginnings of the two poems, τῶν δὲ φίλων and οἱ μὲ φίλοι.

873—6 and 877—84 are allied in thought. Having said that wine is open both to praise and to blame the poet chooses his part and bids his heart make merry with the wine of Taygetus while it may. Hence the responsion of οἶνε in 873 with οἶνον in 878. The following lines have connexion of subject without verbal links. 887—8 must be taken with 885—6, as μὴδὲ suggests. "Peace and wealth to the city, that I may revel with my fellows; I love not a bad war. And prick not up thine ear too much at the loud cry of the herald, for 'tis not for our fatherland that we strive." To this 889—90 reply on the other side: "Yet it is shame not to be there and mount swift steeds and look upon sorrowful war." These lines have no verbal responsion with 891—4; the relation of subject will be explained hereafter.

The unity of 903—30 is beyond dispute. This poem and 931—2 were considered above. If 903—30 are an interpolation, it was probably their subject, not the words φείδεσθαι and ἐφείδετο, that caused them to be put next to 931—2.

939—44 have given unnecessary trouble. The scene is at a κῶμος. The speaker at first declines to sing, but finally consents to join in a chorus<sup>1</sup>. It is not hard to fill up the gaps in the dialogue, of which we have only one side. "Will you sing us something?" "I am afraid I am out of voice; I was at a party last night." "The accompanist perhaps does not satisfy you?" "I could not wish for a better. You should have a duet, only my friend, the knave, has left me in the lurch. But if you like I will lead off *Auld Lang Syne*."

Between the next two poems the connexion of thought is

<sup>1</sup> ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσιν ἐπευχόμενος. This would be a chorus, not a solo. I owe this explanation to Dr Jackson.

very strong, the verbal responson weak. When he wrote 945—8 the poet was evidently in some such position as that of an *αἰσυμνήτης*, entrusted for a time with an "elective tyranny," as Aristotle calls it, in order to settle party feuds. In 949—54, written doubtless after he had finished his duties, he prides himself on not having used his power, as we know that some *αἰσυμνήται* did, to make himself tyrant<sup>1</sup>. Thus there is the best of reasons why 949—54 should stand where they do; and the responson between *πειθόμενος* of 948 and *πεποιθώς* of 949, which are used in different senses, must strengthen our suspicions of the value of other such responsons, for it shews how easily verbal resemblances may exist between poems which stand together for other and better reasons.

The next two poems are connected in thought. 955—6: "The baser sort bear no gratitude for kindness." 957—8: "If thou art not grateful to me for my help, mayst thou have cause to come to my door again in thy need." Hence the responson of *χάρις* with *χάριν*.

973—90 are a series of poems of a convivial nature, such as might be sung at banquets, and they shew responson due to their common purpose but no more. Thus the first has *Διωνύσου δῶρ'*, the second *παρὰ κρητῆρι*, the third *ἐν θαλίῃσι*, the fourth *πῖν'*.

991—2 have no resemblance of thought or language to 989—90, with which they are joined by Sitzler. 989—90 conclude a series of poems about wine and revelry, and the isolated couplet 991—2 marks the transition to a longer poem on another theme.

From this review of Müller's table of responsons certain general results may now be drawn. By far the greater part of his links have been shewn to depend not on superficial resemblances of wording but on connexion of thought. Many poems have been found to contain within themselves verbal

<sup>1</sup> Though many of the metaphors of this poem are used with erotic meanings by later poets (*Anth. Pal.* v. 50, 119, 293, xii. 146, etc.), it is not necessary to suppose an erotic meaning here.

echoes which appear perhaps considerable when they are printed in splendid isolation on Müller's pages, but are really so slight as to escape the reader's notice unless he is carefully watching for them. As an aid to memory the bulk of Müller's catchwords would have been of no use. On the other hand many poems separated by greater or lesser intervals present really striking resemblances which the compiler who is supposed to have worked on the principle of the catchword could scarcely have missed. Surely he cannot have set these aside, preferring to arrange the poems in accordance with repetitions of *Κύρνε, Πολυπαῖδη, καλός, κακός, ἀγαθός, ἐσθλός, δειλός, ἀνὴρ, ἄνθρωπος, πιστός, πῖσυνος, θεοί, ἀθάνατοι, νόος, θυμός, ἄστοι, πόλις, φίλος, ἐταῖρος, ἀπάτη, ὕβρις, πλούτος, πενία, οἶνος*. It would be easy to draw up a not very long list of words as common as these, of which at least one should occur in every poem.

There remain, however, some passages where a stronger responsion between one poem and the next is not due to connexion of thought. Are they more than may reasonably be attributed to chance? It will not profit much to count up these cases, the total number of poems, and so on, and to proceed by arithmetic, for such statistics are seldom convincing. A better plan will be to apply Müller's methods to some other body of poems, and compare the results with his. In order to give a fair test we must choose poems of limited range. Let us take Martial's so-called *Liber Spectaculorum*. This book is in the elegiac metre throughout, and its poems are all due to somewhat similar occasions<sup>1</sup>; but their range of subjects is much wider than the range of Theognis. The frequent but not regular address to "Caesar" or mention of the "princes" may serve as counterpart to the frequent *Κύρνε* or *Πολυπαῖδη*. On the other hand Martial shews nothing like Theognis' love of a number of common words. Adopting Müller's way of presenting the responsions to the eye, we get the following results. After the number of each poem is given in brackets the number of lines in the poem, and to each

<sup>1</sup> See Friedländer's preface.

i	(8)	barbara <sup>1</sup>	miracula <sup>1</sup>	astra <sup>6</sup>	Caesareo <sup>7</sup>	amphitheatro <sup>7</sup>	amphitheatro <sup>7</sup>	unum prae cunctis <sup>8</sup>	miseris <sup>8</sup>
ii	(10)	barbara <sup>1</sup>	miramur <sup>7</sup>	astra <sup>1</sup>	Caesar <sup>11</sup>	amphitheatri <sup>9</sup>	amphitheatri <sup>9</sup>	unaque iam tota <sup>4</sup>	in urbe <sup>4</sup>
iii	(12)	harena <sup>3</sup>			Caesar <sup>1</sup>				in urbe <sup>3</sup>
iv	(4)								
v	(3)	harena <sup>4</sup>			principis <sup>3</sup>	delator <sup>4</sup> , exilium <sup>4</sup>	delator <sup>4</sup> , exilium <sup>4</sup>		ab urbe <sup>1</sup>
vi	(4)				Caesar <sup>2</sup>				
vii	(4)				Caesar <sup>5</sup>				
viii	(12)	urso <sup>3</sup>	laceris <sup>5</sup>			poena <sup>12</sup>	poena <sup>12</sup>	prisca fides <sup>3</sup> , fama canebat <sup>3</sup>	
ix	(4)	urso <sup>1</sup>	lacereris <sup>1</sup>		Caesar <sup>1</sup>			antiquae famae <sup>11</sup>	
x	(4)	feris <sup>6</sup>	tela <sup>4</sup>		principis <sup>5</sup>	poenas <sup>3</sup>	poenas <sup>3</sup>		
xi	(6)	feras <sup>6</sup>	lancea <sup>1</sup>						
xii	(6)			suem <sup>3</sup>	Caesareae <sup>1</sup>	uolnere <sup>3</sup>	uolnere <sup>3</sup>	matris <sup>3</sup> natis <sup>6</sup>	
xiii	(3)	fera <sup>2</sup>	telo <sup>1</sup>					materno <sup>1</sup> nata <sup>3</sup>	
xiv	(6)	fera <sup>6</sup>		sus <sup>2</sup>		uolnere <sup>1</sup>	uolnere <sup>1</sup>	mater <sup>1</sup>	
xv	(4)	fera <sup>1</sup>	venabula <sup>3</sup>	aper <sup>1</sup>	poli <sup>4</sup>	uolnere <sup>7</sup>	uolnere <sup>7</sup>	matre <sup>3</sup>	
xvi	(8)	Herculeus <sup>6</sup>	taurus <sup>1</sup>		aethera <sup>1</sup>				
xvii	(3)		taurus <sup>5</sup>		astra <sup>2</sup>			Caesaris <sup>3</sup>	
xviii	(4)	Alciden <sup>2</sup>	taurus <sup>5</sup>	elephas <sup>1</sup>				Caesar <sup>1</sup>	
xix	(4)	magistro <sup>8</sup>	tauro <sup>2</sup>						
xx	(6)	magistri <sup>1</sup>							
xxi	(4)	petitus <sup>2</sup>	taurus <sup>2</sup>	elephanta <sup>4</sup>					
xxii	(4)	peteret <sup>1</sup>	Caesar <sup>3</sup>						
xxiii	(8)	ferarum <sup>6</sup>	Caesar <sup>3</sup>	urso <sup>7</sup>	Orpheo <sup>1</sup>	miranda <sup>3</sup>	mirantur <sup>2</sup>	emisit <sup>1</sup>	
xxiv	(2)			ursum <sup>5</sup>	Orphea <sup>1</sup>			promissis <sup>3</sup>	
xxv	(6)	ferae <sup>2</sup>	gemino <sup>5</sup>						
xxvi	(6)	moras <sup>6</sup>	gemino <sup>5</sup>						
xxvii	(6)	mora <sup>6</sup>	unda <sup>3</sup> , fretis <sup>2</sup> , aequora <sup>9</sup> , pontus <sup>6</sup>						
xxviii	(2)		unda <sup>1</sup> , unda <sup>2</sup>						
xxix	(4)		aqueis <sup>1</sup> , undas <sup>3</sup>						
xxx	(8)	Thetis <sup>8</sup>	aqueore <sup>1</sup> , aquas <sup>2</sup> , undis <sup>7</sup>						
xxxi	(10)								
xxxii	(12)	Thetis <sup>4</sup>	freta <sup>2</sup> , undis <sup>3</sup> , aquis <sup>6</sup> , unda <sup>10</sup>					Caesar <sup>1</sup>	
xxxiii	(4)	Mars <sup>2</sup>	palma <sup>9</sup> , palmas <sup>9</sup>					Caesaris <sup>3</sup>	
xxxiv	(2)							Caesar <sup>4</sup>	
xxxv	(4)		palma <sup>3</sup>					Caesaris <sup>3</sup> , Caesar <sup>7</sup>	
xxxvi	(2)							Caesar <sup>2</sup>	
xxxvii	(4)								
xxxviii	(2)								
xxxix	(4)								
xl	(2)								
xli	(4)								
xlii	(8)								
xliii	(10)								
xliiii	(12)								
xliv	(4)								
xlv	(2)								
xlvi	(4)								
xlvii	(8)								
xlviii	(10)								
xlix	(12)								
l	(4)								

catchword is added the number of the line in which it occurs<sup>1</sup>.

xxxiii. is wrongly added from the Scholia to Juvenal; yet its responsion with xxxii. would have satisfied Müller's compiler, since *displicuisse* and *placuisse* occur in xxxii. 1—2, *habuisse* in xxxiii. 2. Sometimes the same subject is treated in consecutive poems. xii., xii. b, xiii., xiv. are all *de sue quae ex uolnere peperit*; xxiv., xxv., xxv. b, xxvi. seem to be all occasioned by the same display, a *naumachia*. But the poems in praise of Carpophorus are far apart, and one of them, xxvii., comes between two poems on naval displays. Moreover a large number of the responsions are independent of any connexion of thought; and some of them are as striking as any in Theognis. Thus Müller could scarcely deny that the *Liber Spectaculorum* is arranged by catchwords, for every poem except xxvii. has links both with what precedes and with what follows, and a much longer list might be drawn up if it were thought worth while to include, as Müller does, responsions between poems separated by a considerable interval.

The first book of Martial yields the following responsions at the first glance:—i. nesses; ii. notus, libellis, requiris; iii. libellos, quaeris; iv. liber, dominae, domini; v. libellos, dominum; vi. libro; vii. aquila; viii. columba, passerem, Catulli; ix. Catonis, uelis, uolo; x. Cotta, uis, bellus; xi. pulchra, quid? xii. quare? calda; xiii. fumat aquis; xiv. casta, si qua fides; xv. Caesar; xvi. Iuli, si quid longa fides, casta; xvii. fit; xviii. facit; xix. fecere—and so on.

Here is a first harvest of responsions from the fourth book of F. T. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics*:—

- ccviii. bards (*last stanza*), Heaven, earth, regions, melodious.
- ccix. bards (*first word*), earth, heaven, regions, melodious; bards (*last line but three*), passion (*do.*).

<sup>1</sup> I follow the editions of Gilbert and Friedländer. They sometimes divide what others join; but it is fair for my purpose to break up a poem when either division or conjunction is possible, since Müller does the same in Theognis.

- ccx. bards (*fourth line*).
  - ccxi. passions (*first line*); love (*last line but two*).
  - ccxii. love (*last line*); garlands.
  - ccxiii. garlands (*third line and last but one*); summer (*last line*).
  - ccxiv. summer's (*last line*); sweet, midnight, asleep.
  - ccxv. sweet sleep of night (*second line*).
  - ccxvi. night (*first line*); she (*first word*).
  - ccxvii. she (*first word*), bright...light (*last rhyme*).
  - ccxviii. she (*first word*), bright...light (*third rhyme*); maidens (*last line*).
  - ccxix. maiden (*first line*).
  - ccxx. she (*first word*), maid (*third line*); unknown, Lucy, love.
  - ccxxi. unknown, Lucy, love—
- and so on.

Thus verbal respension has been shewn to run throughout a set of poems of a range no narrower than the range of Theognis; and manifest traces of it have been found in two other sets of much wider range. Yet it is not to be imagined that Martial or F. T. Palgrave arranged his collections by catchwords. What is the explanation? Simply this, that the vocabulary of any language is limited, and words and phrases necessarily recur. Theognis, with his unusually small vocabulary, and with his insistence on a small number of subjects, naturally presents more of these repetitions than the average<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein (p. 79) sums up the question thus:—"So verkehrt und unglücklich die Ausdehnung war, welche Nietzsche der 'Stichworttheorie' gegeben hat—dass einzelne Gruppen von Sprüchen wegen des ähnlichen Inhalts vereinigt sind, hat niemand bestritten, und dass oft ein besonders wichtiges und entscheidendes Wort die Anknüpfung der nächsten Sentenz erklärt, und wieder die in dieser stark betonten Ausdrücke in der folgenden wiederkehren u. s. f. ist für mich unbestreitbar. Dies erklärt sich leicht, wenn wir an die Vortragsart der Lieder beim Gelage und an die Schilderung in den Wespen des Aristophanes denken; der Zweck des Buches hat seine Anlage beeinflusst. Ein klassisches Beispiel auch hierfür bieten die 'attischen' Skolien" (Athenaeus xv. p. 694). But what neither Reitzenstein nor any one else has shewn is that Theognis himself cannot have been guided consciously or unconsciously by these principles in the arrangement of his poems.



Thus, though Müller's system of catchwords is far more formidable than those of his predecessors, a review of it has led to concurrence in Bergk's verdict: "sensorum, non verborum respexerunt Graeci similitudinem; graviter errant nostri homines, velut Welcker...Nietzsche...Fritzsche." Whether the Greek who looked to resemblances of meaning was Theognis himself or not is another question<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It may be thought that I have spent too much time over this business—"utitur in re non dubia argumentis non necessariis." But the doctrines of Nietzsche and Müller have not yet vanished from Theognidean research. The Stichwortsprincip has often been reviled, but it has never been killed or even scotched; and its trail is over Hesiod and Catullus.

## CHAPTER V.

### ARE THE POEMS FRAGMENTS?

IN the preceding pages it has often been maintained that pieces commonly divided from one another by the editors are in reality so closely related that juxtaposition alone gives their meaning in full. Von Leutsch puts the matter thus<sup>1</sup>: "Moreover several gnomes, each complete in itself, may stand together in an inner connexion, mutually explaining, defining, supplementing one another, always without prejudice to their independence; and precisely in this combination of independence and dependence lay the gnomic poet's art." But all this is incompatible with the common opinion that our text is a collection of *fragments*. "One need only give a glance," says A. Croiset<sup>2</sup>, "at either of the two redactions of this collection to recognize at once two evident facts. The first is, that we have no longer the actual elegies of Theognis but only a series of fragments, a heap of elegiac verses, so to speak, thrown together without order." The first glance certainly gives that impression. The many poems which begin with adversative particles, as 1105—6, 1063—8, 997—1002, naturally have the appearance of fragments. But in many cases these particles connect their poems with what precedes; in many more they are justified by the analogy of oracles. Of the twenty-eight oracles given by Herodotus, eight begin with *δέ*, four with *ἀλλά*, one with *καί*. The reason of this is, to quote von Leutsch once more<sup>3</sup>, "weil der wahr-

<sup>1</sup> *Philologus* xxx. p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> As before, p. 208.

sagende oder der *προφήτης* gegen einen ihm vorschwebenden, dem betreffenden publikum bekannten, meist also allgemeinen gedanken sich richtet und somit einen sachgemässen, zugleich aber auch begeisterten ton anschlägt, unwillen, verwunderung oder einen sonstigen affect verräth."

A further justification of these connecting particles is put forward by Reitzenstein. He maintains that from its origin until its temporary cessation in the fourth century the elegy was intended for use at the *symposion*. To this rule there are probably more exceptions than he would admit. He is too ready to be convinced that a poem was destined for this purpose<sup>1</sup>. But though he has carried his theory too far, no doubt he is right in the main. With regard to Theognis himself, lines 239—40 suffice to shew that Theognis foresaw that his poems would be used at banquets, even if he did not intend them all in the first place for that use, as he certainly did intend many of them—the poems in praise of wine, in 939—42 the excuses of a guest who is asked to sing, and many others. A valuable confirmation of this view has come to light in recent years, for a drinking-bowl from Tanagra has been found on which is portrayed a man reclining at dinner and singing some words from Theognis; but of that more hereafter.

It would be strange, under these circumstances, if the poems of Theognis presented no resemblances to the characteristics of the *skolion*. The most striking of these was the practice of "taking up" the song—*δέχεσθαι τὰ σκόλια*—which is familiar from passages of Aristophanes<sup>2</sup>. This accounts for much in the elegies which have come down to us. The tenth fragment of Tyrtaeus and the first of Xenophanes have all

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the first line of the first fragment of Callinus he seems to want to give *καρδαισθε* the sense of "recline," not observing that this is incompatible with *ἦσθαι* in line 4, since those to whom Callinus addresses himself cannot have been both reclining and sitting; so that certainly one of the two words and probably both are used metaphorically. Again, his reasons for regarding the ninth fragment of Archilochus as meant for a banquet are weak, and there is no authority for taking the thirteenth fragment as part of the same poem as the ninth.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein, p. 24. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1219 ff.

the look of complete poems, yet each begins with γάρ. The sixth fragment of Xenophanes is the line

νῦν αὖτ' ἄλλον ἔπειμι λόγον, δείξω δὲ κέλευθον—

and we know from Diogenes Laertius, viii. 36, that this was the *beginning* of an elegy<sup>1</sup>. Dionysius ὁ χαλκοῦς, in the middle of the fifth century, went so far as to begin his elegies with pentameters. Hence it appears that elegies written for use at banquets long lacked full independence; that means were taken to make easy the transition from one poem to a second, supplementary or antithetic to the first. This, together with the practice of oracles, may account for some of the particles, otherwise strange, with which many of the poems of Theognis begin.

On the other hand by far the greater number of the poems have no such particle at their head. 301—2, for instance, do not look like a fragment from a longer elegy; the couplet is complete in itself. 367—70 are an epigram whole and perfect in the compass of four lines<sup>2</sup>. Let us go through the book once more, this time in quest of fragments. We may pass over pairs and groups of poems whose connexion has already been explained, and every piece, complete in sense, which no particle tacks on to what precedes. Notice that in the review of Müller's theory the presence of such particles was never appealed to as proof of connexion, but only as corroborative evidence. Notice also that in the best manuscripts the poems follow one another without break; the divisions are due to the interpolated manuscripts or to modern scholars.

5—10 are complete in themselves. The μέν of line 5 is confirmative<sup>3</sup>; it does not point forward to a δέ.

<sup>1</sup> With this Reitzenstein (p. 50) compares 1055—6 of Theognis: ἀλλὰ λόγον μὲν τοῦτον ἔασομεν, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ σὺ αὔλει, καὶ Μουσῶν μνηστῆρες ἀμφοτέρω. But there λόγον τοῦτον evidently means the preceding lines, 1049—54.

<sup>2</sup> E. Hiller, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 478: "Manches erweist sich allerdings durch die anfangsworte als fragmentarisch; ihrer mehrzahl nach aber sind diese kleinen gedichte, auch solche die nur aus einzelnen distichen bestehen, nach form und inhalt durchaus abgeschlossen und lassen nichts vermissen."

<sup>3</sup> See Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*, § 503. The combination of 1—4 with 5—10 is possible but quite unnecessary; it is rejected by von Leutsch, *Philologus* xlii. p. 227.

79—86 have been much debated<sup>1</sup>. In 83 A has *τούτους οὐχ εὔροις*, O *τούτους οὐχ εὐρήσεις*, the rest *τούς δ' οὐχ εὐρήσεις*. Bergk reads *τόσσους δ' οὐ δήεις*. The rare word *δήεις* might have been replaced by a gloss *εὐρήσεις*, but scarcely by *εὔροις*. Perhaps the inferior manuscripts have returned to the true reading by a good conjecture, though δ' is clearly an insertion. Thus O's unmetrical reading is nearest to the original, while A and the inferior manuscripts have two different emendations made for metre's sake, of which the latter has hit upon the truth. If we read *τούς οὐχ εὐρήσεις*, it does not matter much whether 79—82 and 83—6 be joined or not, since in any case juxtaposition alone gives them their whole value. Perhaps it is rather better to treat them as independent but complementary. The important point is that they are either one poem or two poems not connected grammatically or even by a connecting particle.

There is no reason whatever to break up 119—28. Ziegler thinks 125—8 a non-Theognidean addition. The poem *might* end with 124, but 125—8 are a quite appropriate continuation. Probably the reason why they have been suspected is the difficulty of *ἐς ᾧριον*; but that is just the same whoever their author was<sup>2</sup>.

169—70 begin with *δέ*, and at first sight have no connexion with what precedes. This is a very difficult couplet, and drastic remedies have been applied. A reads :

*δν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσιν ὃ καὶ μωμείμενος αἰνεῖ,  
ἀνδρὸς δὲ σπουδῇ γίνεται οὐδεμία.*

O has *δν θεοί*. K has *τιμῶσ' δν*, which is evidently a conjecture, and Bergk adopts it as such. The objection to the demonstrative *δν* is that it throws great stress on the object of *τιμῶσ'*, whereas the antithesis is clearly between the *subject* of that verb, *θεοί*, and *ἀνδρὸς* of the pentameter. To *ὁ καὶ*

<sup>1</sup> On this poem see R. Peppmüller, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1893, pp. 395—6.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Robinson Ellis thinks it a corruption or a by-form of *ἐς αἶριον*. The unity of 119—28 is defended by E. Hiller, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 449.

μωμεύμενος Welcker thinks the position of καὶ a fatal objection. But it gives quite a good sense: "he that even blames." The mistake is to translate it as if it were καὶ ὁ μωμεύμενος, as Vinetus and Neander did. ὁ καὶ μωμεύμενος αἰνεῖ was very likely a proverbial phrase, applicable to a Themistocles or a Caesar, to whom even his bitterest enemies must allow merit. Or perhaps the meaning is something like this. Certain insignificant persons soon drop out of history, and even their vices are forgotten. On the other hand a great man's memory lives for ever, and there are always those who will discuss anew their vices as well as their virtues; but praise and blame both help to keep their glory alive. Thus the worthlessness of Lord Sandwich has long ceased to find denouncers, but of Napoleon it might be said that him ὁ καὶ μωμεύμενος αἰνεῖ<sup>1</sup>. If this view be accepted, it seems possible to connect 169—70 with the two preceding couplets. 165—6: "No man is prosperous or poor, bad or good, without the will of heaven." 167—8: "To each man his own fault, and none is exactly happy of all on whom the sun looks." 169—70: "But whom the gods honour, to him praise and blame alike bring fame; a man's goodwill is nothing worth." In other words, the favourite of the gods, an Odysseus or an Aeneas, may have his faults, but the goodwill of heaven enables him to dispense with human aid.

193—6 begin with αὐτός τοι ταύτην, which at first sight seems to imply previous mention of a man and a woman. But this is by no means necessary. ταύτην is used as in a different style the Greeks used ὁ δέῖνα and we use "So-and-so."<sup>2</sup> The same is true of τοῦθ' in 1096: it does not matter what the service was that the poet had been asked to perform. Compare τὰδ' in 833.

<sup>1</sup> "Nay, sir, do not complain. It is advantageous to an authour, that his book should be attacked as well as praised. Fame is a shuttlecock. If it be struck only at one end of the room, it will soon fall to the ground. To keep it up, it must be struck at both ends."—Samuel Johnson, LL.D.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτός has been suspected without good reason; it goes closely with εἰδώς. Bergk thought that his ubiquitous *breviator* has removed two proper names. Hartung, less cautious, proposed Διόκλῆς Δόγην.

197—208 begin with δ', and there is no real antithesis with 193—6. But 193—6 speak of men who marry bad wives for money, so that there is a certain contrast between 193—6 and the *beginning* of 197—208: "But a possession which cometh to a man from above, and with righteousness, and cleanly, endureth for ever." There is some difference of reading in 197, and A's *χρήμα δ' ὁ μὲν* and O's *χρήμαθ' ᾧ* may both come from XPHMATOMEN wrongly written *χρήματ' δ μὲν*.

If 511—22, 543—6 and 557—60 are not three complete poems, that is no doubt the fault of the manuscript tradition, not of Bergk's abridger. None of the three begins with a connecting particle. The imperfect syntax of 541—2 is not due to loss but to brachylogy: see Bergk's note. In 593—4 the text is corrupt<sup>1</sup>, but an easy restoration makes 591—4 a perfect poem.

691—2 are complete, but they might be thought a part of a longer poem. Probably however they are just a formula for "good-bye" to a friend who is setting out on a voyage by sea.

In 821 the inferior manuscripts read οἱ δ', but οἱ κ' is the only reading which a scientific appreciation of the evidence can admit<sup>2</sup>.

857—60 begin with τῶν δὲ φίλων, they have no connexion with the preceding poem, their personal tone precludes comparison with oracles, and their bitterness makes them hardly fit for convivial use. Thus here at last we might seem to have a δὲ which cannot be justified. The remedy is simple. Read

<sup>1</sup> The inferior manuscripts shew a poor attempt to emend. In 594 *τερφθῆς* might stand, but the change from the participial to the finite construction would be harsh. It might be (perhaps has been) suggested that 593—4 shew a half-hearted attempt to combine two independent couplets. If so, it was very stupid of the compiler to leave *τερφθῆς*. On the other hand the corruption of *τερφθέντ'* to *τερφθῆς* may have been due to assimilation with the end of the following word, *ἐξαίνης*; and A's δ' may have been added by some foolish person who wished to bring the passage back to sense, and took *μήτ' ἀγαθοῖσι* with what precedes.

<sup>2</sup> See my critical note. Bergk suggested but did not print οἱ κ'...*ἀτιμάζωσι*, Hiller read οἱ καταγρησκόνας *ἀτιμάζουσι*, Crusius reads οἱ κ' ἀπογρησκόνας *ἀτιμάζωσι*.

τῶνδε φίλων and much is gained. "These precious friends of mine." For the contemptuous use of ὅδε compare 61 and 283.

897—900 are corrupt beyond hope. 897 is meaningless in A, unmetrical in the other manuscripts. Perhaps something has fallen out, or two pieces have coalesced; but the Κύρνε of 897 shews that the poem or the first of the two poems had no connecting particle.

In 983 it seems possible to find a meaning for δ'. The preceding couplet speaks of the false friends who practise their arts of soft speech at a feast: 983—4 counsel frank enjoyment of pleasures while youth remains. "Some men ply their guile over wine, but let us sate our hearts with revelry while yet they can bear the lovely works of joy." In 981—2 the text is doubtful; but if θέλγοις is right it is no more personal than εἶη in 979, so that the "we" of 983 is only apparently incompatible with the "thou."

997—1002 are a hard problem. τῆμος does not seem to be used as a relative elsewhere; a relative τῆμος would not take the optative here; and παραγγέλλοι can hardly be due to attraction into the mood of λήγοιμεν, since λήγοιμεν comes after it, not before. παραγγέλλοι must therefore be an optative of wish. Further, what is the force of μέν, and what the meaning of παραγγέλλοι? In line 5 is an example of the confirmative use of μέν with a conjunction, but it cannot be used thus either with a participle as in line 19 or with a noun as here. The apodosis to μέν must therefore be sought either in 999 or in 1001. In παραγγέλλοι all the editors seem to acquiesce, or else they change it to παραγγέλλει or παραγγέλλων. But the fault lies in its meaning, not in its mood. Liddell and Scott render it "to encourage, cheer on," neglecting the first member of the compound and mistranslating the second. παραγγέλλω has three meanings in good Greek—first, its proper meaning, "to hand on a message," especially a watchword or command<sup>1</sup>; second, with a weakening of the force of παρά, "to order," governing a dative and an

<sup>1</sup> As in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 289 and 294, in the description of the beacons.



accusative or a dative and an infinitive; third, "to summon to one's aid." These meanings (and no other) appear also in the nouns παραγγελία, παράγγελμα, παράγγελσις. But παραγγέλλοι in 998 comes under none of these heads. No meaning can be given it which neither neglects the preposition nor does violence to the verb. This objection condemns not only παραγγέλλοι but other conjectures which keep any form of παραγγέλλω. Bergk for example suggests μώνυχας ἵππους ἄρτι παραγγέλλει μέσσητον ἡμᾶρ ἐλῶν, governing ἵππους by ἐλῶν, it is to be presumed, and ἡμᾶρ by παραγγέλλει. But παραγγέλλω never means merely "to announce," "to give tidings," like the simple verb; and to speak of the sun as "handing on the tidings of noon" is absurd. Moreover Bergk's conjecture leaves the words in a very clumsy order. παραγγέλλοι then cannot be right. Emperius proposed παραστέλλοι, a large change. There is room for another conjecture. Assuming that the mistake came from uncial script, let us make the minimum of change and read ΠΑΡΑΜΕΛΛΑΟΙ for ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΛΑΟΙ. The confusion of *mu* with double *gamma*, of *alpha* with *lambda*, needs no illustration<sup>1</sup>. μώνυχας ἵππους ἄρτι παρ' ἡμ' ἐλάοι is a natural enough description of the sun at noon. The next word to examine is χέρνιβα. The Greek practice was to wash the hands both before and after a meal<sup>2</sup>. But χέρνιψ does not appear to be used of the *second* washing. Very early in Greek χέρνιψ and the cognate words became ritual words, used of ceremonial washing *before* a sacrifice or meal. *After* a meal the hands were washed not for religious reasons but for the sake of cleanliness and comfort. In Homer the χέρνιψ regularly *precedes* the meal<sup>3</sup>. Between the

<sup>1</sup> This conjecture of course assumes that the word had already been corrupted to ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΛΑΟΙ in some ancestor of A and O and the text which Athenaeus used; whence the nearest common ancestor of A and O had ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΛΑΟΙ by haplography. For examples of the uncontracted forms of ἐλῶν, see Veitch's *Greek Verbs Irregular and Defective*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1216—7:

ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός· τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν·  
δειπνοῦμεν· ἀπονεύμεθ'· ἤδη σπένδομεν.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. in *Odyssey* i. 136.

*Odyssey* and Theognis χέρνιψ does not seem to occur. In the tragic poets it is used only in connexion with sacrifice. Thus in our passage either the χέρνιψ is preliminary to the meal, or we must suppose that the χέρνιψ used before the meal was left in the room until the eating was over, and then used again, when it was no longer χέρνιψ properly so-called but merely water. The latter view agrees with the mention of στεφανώματα, for we know from Athenaeus, Plutarch and others that garlands were not put on until the dinner proper was finished and the συμπόσιον began.

In 999 ὅπου is impossible. Probably nowhere is ποῦ or ὅπου used of time; and such a vague word would be incompatible with the precise indication of time given in 997—8, whatever reading is there to be adopted. ὅσου, which has the authority of Athenaeus, is certainly right. The genitive is not due to attraction but to an infinitive supplied from λήγοιμεν or whatever is to be substituted for λήγοιμεν.

If λήγοιμεν is right, the present participle χαριζόμενοι can scarcely be kept; wherefore Bergk would read χαριζάμενοι. But since the hexameter is unmetrical as it appears in AO which have δείπνου δὲ λήγοιμεν, it is more likely that the fault lies in the hexameter. Many conjectures have been proposed, the best of them Meineke's δείπνου δῆτ' ἀλέγοιμεν; but δῆτ' is out of place. Perhaps an improvement would be εὖ ἀλέγοιμεν, which differs very little in uncial script from A and O—ΔΕΙΠΝΟΤΔΕΤΑΛΕΓΟΙΜΕΝ in place of ΔΕΙΠΝΟΤΔΕΛΗΓΟΙΜΕΝ. The hiatus between εὖ and ἀλέγοιμεν needs no defence. ἀλέγω is generally used with a negative, but compare *Iliad* ix. 502:

καὶ γάρ τε Λιταί εἰσι Διὸς κούραι μεγάλοιο...  
αἷ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιούσαι.

With the reading δείπνου δ' εὖ ἀλέγοιμεν the requisite antithesis to the μὲν of 997 is supplied.

In 993 AO read εἰ θείης Ἀκάδημε ἐφήμερον ὕμνον αἰεῖδεν, which has been variously emended. For θείης compare θεῖναι ὁγῶνα in Herodotus, and in Pindar, *Olympian* iii. 21, καὶ μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἀγνὰν κρίσιν καὶ πενταετηρίδ' ἀμὰ θῆκε

ζαθέοις ἐπὶ κρημνοῖς Ἀλφειοῦ; and for the infinitive compare *Odyssey* viii. 465 :

οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεῖη ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης,  
οἴκαδ' ἔλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἡμῶν ἰδέσθαι.

But the hiatus between Ἀκίδημε and ἐφήμερον is doubtful. Turnebus proposed εἶθ' εἷη σ' Ἀκίδημε. Possibly εἶθ' εἷη Ἀκίδημέ σ' should be read. Ἀκίδημος is from the root *ρεκα-*, and it is found with the *digamma* in inscriptions.

The editors alter ἐφήμερον to ἐφίμερον, which is perhaps slightly better; but the change is by no means necessary. In 995 A has *δηρισάντων*, *Ο δηρησάντων*; but *δηρισάντοιιν* is a slight change and probably right. In 996 χ' seems necessary instead of τ'.

993—1002 may therefore be restored conjecturally thus:—

εἶθ' εἷη Ἀκίδημέ σ' ἐφήμερον ὕμνον αἰεῖδεν,  
ἄθλόν τ' ἐν μέσσω παῖς καλὸν ἄνθος ἔχων  
σοὶ τ' εἷη καὶ ἐμοὶ σοφίης πέρι δηρισάντοιιν· 995  
γνοίης χ' ὅσπον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι.  
τῆμος δ' ἥελιος μὲν ἐν αἰθέρι μώνυχας ἵππους  
ἄρτι παρ' ἅμ' ἐλάοι μέσσατον ἡμῶν ἔχων,  
δείπνου δ' εὖ ἀλέγοιμεν ὅσον τινα θυμὸς ἀνώγει,  
παντοίων ἀγαθῶν γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι· 1000  
χέρνιβα δ' αἰψά θύραζε φέροι στεφανώματα δ' εἴσω  
εὐειδῆς ῥαδινῆς χερσὶ Λάκαινα κόρη.

“Would that thou mightest sing a day-long song, and between us stood a boy with the bloom of beauty upon him, to be a prize for thee and me in our rivalry of poesy; thou wouldst learn the differences between asses and—mules. When that is over, may the sun in heaven be driving his whole-hoofed horses just past us in his midday course, and let us pay good heed to our dinner for so long as the heart shall bid, and let the lustral water forthwith be taken out and garlands brought in by the shapely hands of some fair Laconian maid.”

By thus connecting 993—6 and 997—1002 we find the explanation of ἡμίονοι. Contrast Virgil's “argutos inter strepere anser olores.” As a goose is to a swan, so is an ass to a horse; but what sane man, even while he wrote his

enemy down an ass, would write himself down a mule?<sup>1</sup> No, lines 993—6 must be written in a friendly spirit. Theognis, the poet of world-wide renown<sup>2</sup>, claims superiority over a friendly rival, but softens his claim by the playfulness of his tone. *ἐφήμερον* is of course a humorous exaggeration. The contest may go on all day if necessary, but Theognis predicts that it will be over in time for dinner at noon. Thus the poem is a friendly challenge accompanied by an invitation to dinner. Whether Theognis invites his friend to dine with him, or himself to dine with his friend, we cannot say. Probably the latter, for it is not likely that Theognis had a Laconian girl to wait on him, while he certainly had friends in Laconia<sup>3</sup>.

The unity of the poem 993—1002 may explain why Athenaeus, having quoted 997—1002, goes out of his way to quote also 993—6. Probably Athenaeus knew Theognis only in excerpts. If 993—1002 are one poem they would naturally appear together in an excerpt. Thus Athenaeus, using 997—1002 to shew that Theognis was not averse to good living, may have used the rest of the excerpt as well in order not to waste any part of the material which he had at hand.

1203—6 begin abruptly, but there is no reason to think the poem incomplete<sup>4</sup>. 1227—8 have no business in the text of Theognis. 1229—30, which are added from Athenaeus, begin with *γάρ*, and we cannot gather from the words of

<sup>1</sup> Pindar is sometimes driven to glorify mules by the needs of his trade, but see Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, iii. 2, p. 1405 B: *καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅτε μὲν ἐδίδου μισθὸν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ ὁ ριψήσας τοῖς ὄρευσιν, οὐκ ἤθελε ποιεῖν ὡς δυσχεραίνων εἰς ἡμίονους ποιεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἱκανὸν ἔδωκεν, ἐποίησε*

*χαίρει' ἀελλοπρόδων θυγάτρει Ἰππων·*

*καίτοι καὶ τῶν δυνω θυγατέρες ἦσαν.*

<sup>2</sup> Line 23.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 783—6, 879—84.

<sup>4</sup> In 1219 the manuscripts have *δυσμενῇ*. Bergk, Sitzler, Ziegler, Hiller and Crusius read *δυσμενεῖ*, which makes *καὶ* not only superfluous but harmful. "To deceive an enemy is hard even for an ill-wisher." But the *ἐχθρός* is *ἐχθρός* only with respect to the *δυσμενής*. *καὶ* might have been used if for *ἐχθρόν* Theognis had written *ἀνδρα*; or *ἐχθρόν...ἐχθρῷ* or *ἐχθρόν...δυσμενεῖ* (compare *φίλον...φίλῳ* in 1220) might stand, but not *ἐχθρόν...καὶ δυσμενεῖ*.

Athenaeus whether he thought this couplet a whole poem or part of a poem; but it is certainly the latter, for riddles do not begin with "for." Thus the one piece in our collection which appears to be nothing more than a riddle of the vulgar kind is only a fragment. "(But here I must cease,) for the bell calls me home."<sup>1</sup>

To pass on to the second book, 1249—52 are probably the remains of a complete poem whence something has fallen out by accident.

1257—8 are corrupt, and the remedy is doubtful. Some editors make such changes that the couplet stands by itself. Bergk reads ὦ παῖ δὲ ἰκτίνοισι and φιλέαι, producing a relative clause without a main verb. With Bergk's reading, or any other which substitutes ἰκτίνοισι for κινδύνοισι, 1257—8 should probably be combined with 1259—62; the repetition of ὦ παῖ does not interrupt the syntax; and with ἰκτίνου in 1261 the poem returns upon itself—a favourite trick of Catullus\*. With καρτερὸς ἀγνώμων στέφανος, "a stout headband of unreason," where the second adjective is essential to the metaphor, compare Pindar's Λυδῖαν μίτρην καναχαδὰ πεποικιλμέναν<sup>2</sup>, where the adverb and the participle are essential to the metaphor.

1275—8 begin with ὥραιος καὶ Ἔρως; but the καὶ is due to the comparison of Ἔρως with the earth, just as in 1345—50 each side of the comparison has its καί.

1345—50, which begin with δέ, should be joined or connected with 1341—4. The poet mentions a particular compensation for the troubles of his παιδεραστία, and adds a general defence of the habit.

1359—60 begin with γάρ; but the only reason for separating this and the preceding couplet is that their metaphors are different, and that is no more surprising in Theognis than in Pindar or Aeschylus.

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus gives the solution κόχλος, a shell used as a trumpet; compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 303: κόχλους τε φωσὼν συλλέγων ἴ' ἐγχωρῶν. A Lettish riddle very like this is quoted by K. Ohlert, *Zur antiken Räthselpoesie*, in *Philologus* n. f. xi. p. 598: "When I still belonged to life I could give forth no voice; when my life was at an end my voice begin to sound."

<sup>2</sup> xvi., xxxvi., lii., lvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Nemean* viii. 15.

In 1382—3 two pentameters seem to have been reduced to one; but that is the fault of the manuscript tradition, and when the second book was first compiled the poem, or each of the two poems, was doubtless complete.

Of the poems which have at first sight the look of incompleteness all have now been explained except five, lines 563—6, 857—60, 895—6, 971—2 and 1063—8. In 857—60 a slight alteration was proposed which improves the poem and makes it self-sufficient. In the other four poems the introductory *δέ* is comparable to the connecting particles which are found introducing oracles and *σκόλια*. The force of this analogy can hardly be denied; but seeing how often a poem self-sufficient in all but its connecting particle is put by Theognis in connexion or antithesis with another, one may suspect that the four exceptions are due to corruption or loss. To loss by accidental omission the text of Theognis must have been peculiarly subject, and certain instances are not wanting<sup>1</sup>; so that each of these four poems may have been the second half of an antithesis of which the first has fallen out. Again, in several places a *δέ* or a *τε* is found in O or the inferior manuscripts but not in A<sup>2</sup>; and in 563 and 895 the *δ'* might be removed with ease. But, be this as it may, the received opinion that our text is a collection of fragments must be abandoned once and for all.

The first poem of the first book contains some obscure words on which light may now be thrown.

᾽Ω ἄνα, Λητοῦς υἱέ, Διὸς τέκος, οὔποτε σείω  
λήσσομαι ἀρχόμενος οὐδ' ἀποπαυόμενος,  
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρῶτόν τε<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὕστατον ἔν τε μέσοισιν  
ἀείσω· σὺ δέ μοι κλύθι καὶ ἐσθλὰ δίδου.

<sup>1</sup> All the manuscripts omit 1157—8; A omits 985—6; etc.

<sup>2</sup> See 83, 105, 529, 821, 955, 969 (perhaps the clearest case of insertion). On the other hand O omits *δ'* in 117 (perhaps rightly) and in 1012. Before the divisions between the poems were marked, the temptation must have been stronger to insert a *δέ* than to cut one out.

<sup>3</sup> Bergk and Ziegler change *τε* to *σέ*: but the accusative can be supplied from the genitive *σείω*.

Having said "at the beginning and at the end," why does the poet add "first and last and in the middle"? *πρῶτον* and *ὑστατον* mean no more than *ἀρχόμενος* and *ἀποπανόμενος*; but *ἐν μέσοισιν* has no counterpart in the second line, it is out of the logical order, and it is in a prominent place. What does it mean? The usual and natural places for invocations of the gods were the beginning and the end<sup>1</sup>. In the second book, for example, Eros is addressed at the beginning, Aphrodite at the end. But in these lines of the first book the poet promises to sing of Apollo in *three* places, the beginning, the end and the *middle*. This casts a doubt on the opinion of those who think the poem a mere skolion<sup>2</sup>. There exists in the fifteenth book of Athenaeus a collection of Attic skolia, of which the first four are addressed to gods; but they are quite unlike the first poem of Theognis. "First and last" might have become a meaningless form of words, but hardly "first and last and in the middle." Probably therefore Theognis wrote these lines with a view to an already completed or designed arrangement of his poems, which contained invocations of Apollo in three places, the beginning, the middle and the end. Doubtless he foresaw their use as a skolion (else he would not have written *αἰεὶ*), and thought with reason that the few words which distinguish them from commonplace invocations of the gods would not greatly diminish their general usefulness.

The first address consists of this opening poem itself and the next, lines 5—10. After this Apollo is mentioned only thrice, in 757—68, 773—88 and 1119—22. The third of these passages is a prayer for a long lease of vigorous

<sup>1</sup> Theognis 1146: Ἐλπίδι τε πρῶτῃ καὶ πυμᾷ τε θύετω. Homeric Hymn xxi. 3—4: σὲ δ' αἰδοῖς ἔχων φόρμυγγα λίγεια νῆδυππῆς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὑστατόν αἰὲν αἰεῖ. xxxiv. 17—8: οἱ δὲ σ' αἰδοῖοι ἔδομεν ἀρχόμενοι λήγοντές τ'. Pindar, fragment 89: τί κάλλιον ἀρχόμενοις ἢ καταπανομένοιςιν ἢ βαθύζωνόν τε λατῶ καὶ θοᾶν ἱππῶν ἐλάτειραν δέεισαι; Theocritus xvii. 1: ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι. In Milton's *Paradise Lost*, v. 164—5:—

'join all ye creatures to extol

Him first, Him last, Him midst, and without end'—

the addition and the position of the third clause are justified by the fourth.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. von Leutsch, *Philologus* xxx. p. 217.

manhood, and Phoebus and Zeus are mentioned by the way; if Theognis had intended this to redeem a third of his promise he would not have joined Apollo with Zeus. But in the other two passages, poems of some length separated by only four lines, Apollo plays a much larger part. 759—68 were written when fear of Persia was in the air. "Ever may Zeus who dwelleth in the sky hold his right hand over this our city that it come to no harm, he and the other immortals, the blessed gods; but Apollo give skill to my tongue and wit. Let the harp also and the pipe utter an holy strain; and let us, after an acceptable drink-offering to the gods, drink and have graceful speech with one another, fearing not a whit the war with the Medes...." Here also Zeus is coupled with Apollo; but in 773—88 Apollo alone appears. "Lord Phoebus, thyself didst wall our citadel for love of Alcathous, son of Pelops: thyself ward off the wanton host of the Medes from this city, that at the coming of spring the folk in gladness may send thee glorious sacrifice, rejoicing thine heart with the lute in the lovely feast and with the chants and clamours of the dance about thine altar. For verily I am afraid when I look upon the folly of the Greeks and their discord, destroyer of peoples. But vouchsafe thou, Phoebus, to guard this our city...." It must be to this, if to any passage in the book, that ἐν μέσοισιν refers. Now if we omit lines 1221—30, which are not in the manuscripts, we find that 774 lines precede 773—88 and 466 follow them. But the text is not complete as we have it, for Stobaeus and Athenaeus quote eight lines not found in the manuscripts<sup>1</sup>, and such a poem as 1219—20 could never have stood at the

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have ascribed to Theognis a line quoted with 35—6 by Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, i. 2. 20: but Xenophon makes it quite clear that he is quoting from two different poets: τῶν ποιητῶν δ' τε λέγων...καὶ ὁ λέγων....Recently H. Beschornier (*Philologisch-historische Beiträge Curt Wachsmuth zum sechzigsten Geburtstag überreicht*, pp. 192 ff.) claimed to have fashioned two couplets of Theognis out of the prose of Plato, *Laws*, i, 630 B, and Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ii. p. 1177 B 31. But in the passage of Plato the words ὡς φησι Θεόγνις must refer to the couplet quoted in 630 A (just as the next sentence refers to the lines of Tyrtæus with which that couplet is contrasted), and in πιατότης ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, ἥν τις δικαιοσύνην ἀν τελέειν ὁνομάσειεν the speaker merely describes its



end of such a collection as this. When the book was intact, 773—88 may have been not very far from the middle. It is safe to assume that the last poem was addressed to Apollo, for that would be the most convenient way of bringing the volume to an end. Apollo, it may be remarked, is not chosen at random; he is the patron of Megara and of poetry, and in particular the gnomic element of Greek thought and literature is intimately connected with Delphi.

If the inference here drawn from line 3 is sound, it is worth while to notice that the invocations of gods in the second book are arranged on the same plan. They too are three in number. The first poem of the collection is addressed to Eros, the last to Aphrodite under her name *Κυπρωγενὲς Κυθέρεια*; while in 1323—6 she is invoked as *Κυπρωγένη*. One hundred lines of the book precede 1323, and sixty-four follow 1326; but the latter number was once larger, for in 1382—3 something, either much or little, has fallen out. Thus, like the god of gnomic poetry in the first book, in the second a deity of love is thrice invoked, at the beginning and near the middle and at the end.

purport. On the passage of Aristotle, οὐ χρεὶν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παραινούντας ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὄντα οὐδὲ θνητὰ τὸν θνητῶν κ.τ.λ., Michael Ephesius gives the note: *τινὲς μὲν Θεόγνιδος φασιν εἶναι τὴν γνώμην ταύτην, οἱ δὲ Σόλωνος*: which is vague; and Theognis is not likely to have used the word *ἀνθρώπινος*.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE POET'S PREFACE.

OUR way to the second book lies through the poem which begins at line 19 and ends—where? Its length, its origin, its purpose are matters of dispute.

The ground may be cleared a little if we consider some minor questions first.

In *σοφιζομένῳ* some scholars see a mark of Attic influence and therefore of recent date. But the verb is found in Hesiod<sup>1</sup>, and *σοφιστής* is common before the Attic age. In Pindar *σοφός*, *σοφία*, *σοφιστής*, *σόφισμα* denote especially wisdom mated with the power of expressing it well<sup>2</sup>. Thus in the fifth Isthmian ode, 26—9:

καὶ γὰρ ἡρώων ἀγαθοὶ πολεμισταὶ  
λόγον ἐκέρδαναν· κλέονται  
ἐν τε φορμίγγεσσιν ἐν αὐλῶν τε παμφώνοις ὁμοκλαῖς  
μυρίον χρόνον· μελέταν δὲ σοφισταῖς  
Διὸς ἕκατι πρόσβαλον σεβιζόμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> *Works and Days* 649 οὔτε τι ναυτίλης σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν, where its meaning is defined by the genitive. Lines 650—62 were suspected of old, and many editors bracket 649—62. Rzsch however keeps 649. It is true that these lines confess ignorance of the subject which 663—91 discuss, but the poet explains in 661—2: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς ἐρέω...Μοῦσαι γὰρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν. *σεσοφισμένος* occurs again in 130 of the *Pseudophocylidea*; but that poem cannot be used as evidence here, though the line is worthy of Phocylides, and may have been borrowed from him by the compiler.

<sup>2</sup> *σοφός* in *Ol.* i. 9, *Pyth.* iv. 217; *σοφία* in *Pyth.* i. 12, iv. 248, vi. 49 (compare Euripides, *Medea* 1084).

Aeschylus has σοφιστής καλὰ παραπαίων χέλυν<sup>1</sup>. In 924 of the *Rhesus* Thamyras is called δεινῷ σοφιστῇ Θρηκί. Herodotus commonly uses σοφιστής of the Seven Sages and others such; in i. 29 σοφισταί includes among others Solon, with whom Theognis has very much in common. These uses of the noun presuppose the verb σοφίζομαι in a kindred sense, "to act like a σοφός," just as for instance γυμναστής presupposes γυμνάζομαι. Thus in Theognis σοφισομένῳ means "when I write like an inspired teacher," "when I play the sage," and it does not prove that the poem cannot be his.

In 19—20 ἐμοὶ is a true dative, ἔπεσιν a locative dative going closely with ἐπικείσθω. The two datives need no excuse, since the one is not on the same footing as the other; but they are fully justified by 421, πολλοῖς ἀνθρώπων γλώσση θύραι οὐκ ἐπικεῖνται<sup>2</sup>.

The language of 21 is probably proverbial. Nobody will reject a book of guaranteed merit in favour of more doubtful work. Reitzenstein<sup>3</sup> thinks κάκιον predicative: "niemand wird sie ändernd schlechter machen wollen": imagining that the σφρηγίς, the mention of the poet's name, would keep the poems free from interpolation. This it could not do. Moreover, if the object of ἀλλάξει is ἔπη, as Reitzenstein's translation assumes, κάκιον should be κακίονα; if τὸ ἐσθλόν, then the construction is clumsy and scarcely grammatical.

Immisch regards πᾶς τις in 22 as a mark of late origin. He refers to a passage in H. Usener's *Altgriechischer Versbau*<sup>4</sup>, where Usener discusses 621—2:

πᾶς τις πλούσιον ἄνδρα τίει, ἀτίει δὲ πενιχρόν·  
πᾶσιν δ' ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς ἔνεστι νόος.

<sup>1</sup> Fragment 308 (Dindorf). Elsewhere Aeschylus has σοφιστής and σοφισμα only in the *Prometheus* in the sense "inventor," "invention," applied to Prometheus by himself or tauntingly by others.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Hiller (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 473), who adds Isocrates *ad Demonicum* 8: οἷς ἡ τῶν τρόπων ἀρετὴ τηλικούτων εὐδοξίας χαρακτηῖρα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπέβαλεν, and Euripides, *Herakles* 401: θνατοῖς γαλαρῆλα τιθεῖς ἔρετμοις (but θνατοῖς perhaps qualifies ἔρετμοις).

<sup>3</sup> P. 265.

<sup>4</sup> P. 52.

In these lines he sees some such proverb as *τίει πᾶς πλούσιον ἄνδρα*, tastelessly expanded into a couplet for the use of Athenian schools in the fourth century before Christ. His chief quarrel is with the form *ἀτίει*, which violates a principle of Greek word-structure. The form is exceptional, no doubt, but not more so than *ἀτίζω*, which occurs in Homer; or than *ἀτιμάω*, which must come directly from *τιμάω*, since *ἀτιμή* is not found and *ἄτιμος* must have produced *ἀτιμέω* if it had not produced *ἀτιμόω* and *ἀτιμάζω*. Thus the case against the hexameter breaks down<sup>1</sup>. Theognis doubtless used *ἀτίει* for the sake of clearer contrast with *τίει*, just as in English for purposes of antithesis we sometimes coin verbs beginning with *un*-<sup>2</sup>. The pentameter, which Usener calls a stopgap, gives a good sense: "Each and all honour a rich man and dishonour a poor, but within all men is naught save the mind": that is to say, the differences according to which men are honoured or dishonoured are merely the differences of outward show<sup>3</sup>. The couplet must be acquitted without a stain on its character. "I do not know," adds Usener, "whether it has ever been observed that the addition of *τις* and its derivatives to adjectives or to other pronouns by way of limitation occurs first in the Attic poets." His manner of dealing with earlier instances of *πᾶς τις* has the charm of simplicity. *πᾶς τις* is found in a poem of Solon's<sup>4</sup>: Usener agrees with Ahrens<sup>5</sup> in thinking this poem not the work of Solon, in spite of the strong evidence for its authenticity which may be seen in Bergk's note. *πᾶς τις* is found also in one of Pindar's odes<sup>6</sup>: Usener answers that the ode cannot be dated, but he does not shew why it should be assigned to the end of Pindar's life (he died not later than

<sup>1</sup> See Lobeck's *Phrynichus*, p. 500 ff.; W. Clemm in G. Curtius' *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, viii. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> To this desire for contrast are due the few appearances of the rare adjective *ἄσοφος* in Greek. See Appendix V.

<sup>3</sup> For the meaning of *αὐτός* compare 959 *ὅτε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπινον ἀπὸ κρήνης...*, *Iliad* viii. 99, and Liddell and Scott. With Brunck's *ὡντός* or Usener's *αὐτός* the meaning would be: "but in all men is the same mind," "there is a mind in all alike."

<sup>4</sup> 27. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Philologus* iii. p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> *Isthm.* i. 49.

441), or why at any age Pindar should have borrowed this combination from Attic. It is found in line 22 of Theognis: Usener accepts the conjecture of I. Bruns, *πᾶς ἐρέει*. It is found also in Herodotus, who was not an Attic writer; in Aeschylus, whose diction is not the mature form of Attic<sup>1</sup>. Even *πᾶς* alone, in the meaning "everybody," Usener is inclined to deny to Theognis; but it is found in Homer<sup>2</sup>, in Pindar<sup>3</sup>, and commonly in later Greek. Thus *πᾶς τις* is amply justified both in 22 and in 621.

In 23—4 the reading is uncertain. AOK have *ὀνομαστός*, one manuscript has *ὀνομαστούς*, the rest have *ὀνομαστοῦ*; A's first hand and OK have *ἄστοῖσι δ' οὐπω*, A's second hand and the inferior manuscripts have *ἄστοῖσιν δ' οὐπω*<sup>4</sup>. It may be taken as certain that *ὀνομαστοῦ* is a conjecture made for grammar's sake after the pentameter was corrupted; while *ὀνομαστούς* is most likely due to assimilation with the case and number of *πάντας ἀνθρώπους*. In 24 von Leutsch proposed *ἄστοις οὐδ' οὐτω*, Bergk reads *ἄστοις τοῖσδ' οὐπω*. Now *ἄστός* or *πολίτης*, when it means "fellow-townsmen," naturally stands alone, or takes a genitive or an adjective equivalent to a genitive. When Theognis adds *ὅδε* to *ἄστός*, as in 41 and 61, he dissociates himself from his fellows, and looks at them from a foreigner's standpoint. But in 24 the contrast between *ἄστοις* and *πάντας ἀνθρώπους* makes this dissociation unlikely, for to give the contrast its full value Theognis must speak as a Megarian. Thus there is a slight objection to Bergk's emendation. Moreover haplography would naturally have reduced Bergk's reading to *ἄστοις δ' οὐπω*, von Leutsch's to *ἄστοις οὐτω*, neither to *ἄστοῖσι δ' οὐπω*. A simpler remedy is J. Dreykorn's *ἄστοῖσιν γ' οὐπω*. But this question scarcely affects the meaning of the poem.

<sup>1</sup> Sitzler compares *εἰς τις* in *Iliad* l. 144, but *εἰς τις* is rather different from *πᾶς τις*.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* xvi. 265, *Odyssey* xiii. 313.

<sup>3</sup> The masculine in *Ol.* i. 100, *Nem.* i. 53, vi. 56; the neuter in *Pyth.* ii. 34, v. 25, etc.

<sup>4</sup> For A see Hiller, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 452: "*ἄστοῖσδ'* v. von sec. m. übergeschrieben." O commonly omits final *nu*, and K is a copy of O.

Von Leutsch<sup>1</sup> is led by his interpretation of *σφρηγίς* and by other considerations to see in lines 19—26 an imitation of the structure of the Terpandrian νόμος. 19—20 he takes as the *ἐπαρχα*, giving a general expression of the theme; 21 is the *μέταρχα*, repeating it in a rather more particular form; 22 and the first words of 23 are the *κατατροπά*, containing the main idea of the poem; the rest of 23 and 24 are the *μετακατατροπά*, defining it more closely; the first three words of 25 are the *σφρηγίς*, giving a confirmation of what precedes; and the rest of the poem is the *ἐπίλογος*. The *ὀμφαλός* is lacking, as in Pindar's second Isthmian ode and elsewhere. These results give the symmetry 2 + 1 : 1 + 2 : 2. Von Leutsch foresaw and forestalled ridicule, but his analysis of the poem is open to serious criticism as well. Firstly, his division of the thought cannot be called good. Can the *κατατροπά*, the words *ὃδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη*, be said to be *more closely defined* by *πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστὸς ἀστοῖς οὐδ' οὕτω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι*? Quite the contrary: the latter make a temporary objection to the former. The words *πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομαστὸς* indeed reinforce the idea of the poet's fame, but they cannot be separated from the rest of the sentence, which detracts from that idea, without bringing von Leutsch's divisions of thought into conflict with the grammatical divisions. Again, how can *οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, Πολυπαῖδῃ*, be called a confirmation (*bestätigung*) of what precedes? They introduce the *answer* to what precedes. And indeed von Leutsch's divisions presuppose in the poem unity of thought, whereas, if 19—26 are one poem, the thought falls into two distinct parts, very skilfully joined, it is true, but none the less two and not one. Secondly, von Leutsch's arithmetic is at fault. On his own shewing the division between the *κατατροπά* and the *μετακατατροπά* comes after *τοῦ Μεγαρέως*. The figures must therefore be not 2 + 1 : 1 + 2 : 2 but 2 : 1 : 1½ : 1¾ : 2, or, if we separate the *σφρηγίς* from the *ἐπίλογος*, 2 : 1 : 1½ : 1¾ : ¾ : 1½; and in neither of these arrangements is symmetry easy to find. Thirdly, the omission

<sup>1</sup> *Philologus* xxix. pp. 512—3.

of the ὀμφαλός is surely a serious blemish. If his use of σφρηγίς had suggested to Theognis the plan of reproducing the structure of the νόμος in miniature, the thing was only to be done by a *tour de force*, and it would not have been worth the doing unless the miniature had been made a faithful copy of the νόμος in all its parts. For these reasons von Leutsch's theory cannot be accepted. As A. Croiset says<sup>1</sup>, "les sept parties du nome de Terpendre ont fait beaucoup déraisonner."<sup>2</sup>

Yet another thing, the paronomasia of ὀνομαστός and ἀστοῖσιν, may be noticed before we consider the poem as a whole. The Greeks punned early and often<sup>3</sup>. A good example is the use of the word ὀδύσσομαι in the *Odyssey*. In xix. 405—9 Autolycus bids Laertes and Anticleia call their child Ὀδυσσεύς:

πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἰκάνω.

In fragment 408 of Sophocles the same word affords another etymology of the name:

ὀρθῶς δ' Ὀδυσσεύς εἰμ' ἐπώνυμος κακοῖς,  
πολλοὶ γὰρ ὠδύσαντο δυσσεβεῖς ἐμοί.

The second passage is no doubt an echo of the first. Outside the *Odyssey* and Sophocles ὀδύσσομαι occurs four times in the *Iliad*, once in Hesiod<sup>4</sup>, in the sixth Homeric epigram, and once in the Anthology<sup>5</sup>; and in all these passages the word has its normal meaning, with no reference to Ὀδυσσεύς. But in the *Odyssey* the case is different. In the *Odyssey* it

<sup>1</sup> ii. 2 p. 97 n.

<sup>2</sup> Reitzenstein (end of n. 2 to p. 46): "Verwahren möchte ich mich nur gegen den Verdacht, als bestimme mich irgend eine Erinnerung an rein musikalische Gesetze, denen gerade die ältere Elegie nicht entspricht, und für deren Einwirkung ich keinen Anlass sehe."

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Iliad* ii. 758 Πρόθοος θοός, *Odyssey* ix. 408—14 Οὔτις...μή τις...μήτις, Bacchylides vi. 1—2 Λάχων...λάχε. In the *Septem contra Thebas* 819—ol δῆρ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν καὶ πολυνεικεῖς ὦλοντ' ἀσεβεῖ διανοίῃ—Aeschylus puns on ἔρεοκλῆς as well as on Πολυνεικής, for ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν clearly suggests ἐρεοκλεῶς (not that the word exists); see Dr Verrall's note. In Meineke's *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, iii. p. 619, is a list of similar jingles from Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Menander and others.

<sup>4</sup> *Theognia* 617.

<sup>5</sup> ix. 117.

is found five times, *in every case* with reference to Ὀδυσσεύς. xix. 407 has been quoted already. In i. 62 Athene, speaking of Odysseus, asks: τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὠδύσαο, Ζεῦ; In v. 340 Leucothea asks Odysseus: τίπτε τοι ὦδε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων ὠδύσατ' ἐκπάγλως; In v. 423 Odysseus says: οἶδα γὰρ ὥς μοι ὀδῶδυσται κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος. In xix. 275 Odysseus, in disguise, tells how Odysseus lost his ship: ὀδύσαντο γὰρ αὐτῷ Ζεὺς τε καὶ Ἥελιος<sup>1</sup>. The play upon words never palls on the poet (or poets). Similarly Pindar plays twice on πόλις and ἀμφιπολεῖν, in the twelfth Olympian and the fourth Pythian ode<sup>2</sup>. Again in the sixth Olympian ode he accumulates words of similar sound, ἰόπλοκον, ἰφ, ἰων, in his story of the birth of Ἴαμος. There is a similar reinforcement of a pun in Aristophanes, in 977—82 of the *Thesmophoriazousae*:

Ἑρμῆν τε Νόμιον ἄντομαι  
καὶ Πᾶνα καὶ Νύμφας φίλας  
ἐπιγελάσαι προθύμως  
ταῖς ἡμετέραισι  
χαρέντα χορείαις.  
ἔξαιρε δὴ προθύμως  
διπλὴν χάριν χορείας<sup>3</sup>.

These repetitions and reinforcements of puns may help in the consideration of ὀνομαστός.

ὀνομάζω means either "to mention or address by name"<sup>4</sup> or "to name, call, give a name to."<sup>5</sup> The verbal adjective ὀνομαστός is naturally connected with the former meaning: "fit to be mentioned," in Latin "fandus"; and that is what it means in early poetry. If we except the passage of

<sup>1</sup> Though the pun has been noticed in each of the five passages, nobody seems to have seen that ὀδύσσομαι is never used without the pun in the *Odyssey*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ol.* xii. 2: Ἰμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σώσεται Τύχα. *Pyth.* iv. 271—2 (he is speaking of the troubles of a city, Cyrene): χρὴ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τρώμαν ἔλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν. ῥῆδιον μὲν γὰρ πόλιν σείσαι καὶ ἀφαιροτέροις...

<sup>3</sup> Compare also the earlier part of the ode.

<sup>4</sup> Eight times in Homer (*Iliad* ix. 515, x. 68, xviii. 449, xxii. 415, *Odyssey* iv. 278, 551, xiv. 145, xxiv. 339), once in Pindar (*Pyth.* vii. 5).

<sup>5</sup> Never in Homer, but once in Hesiod (fragment 3. 3), and four times in Pindar (*Ol.* ix. 46, *Pyth.* ii. 44, xi. 6, xii. 23).



Theognis and a passage of Pindar which will be considered shortly, the word does not mean "famous" before Thucydides, who uses it but once, and Herodotus, with whom it is common; and even in these two writers the meaning lies between "worthy of mention" and "famous," and nearer the former than the latter<sup>1</sup>. The meaning "famous" is a slight perversion of the word, for *ὀνομάζω* never means "to make famous."<sup>2</sup>

*ὀνομαστός* does not occur in the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey* it is found only with a negative, and only in one form of words which appears thrice<sup>3</sup>:

Ὀδυσσεὺς

ᾧχετ' ἐποφύμενος Κακοῖλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν.

Here it looks as if *ὀνομαστήν* were meant to bear the meaning "not to be named as a town," "not to be called a town"; for *Κακοῖλιος* occurs only in these three places, and in each case the speaker is aware that Ilios has been destroyed, has ceased to be a town, and therefore he avoids the name of the town and invents a name for the ruin. The word *ὀνομαστός* might imply this by a sort of pun.

In Hesiod it occurs twice<sup>4</sup>, in the hymn to Aphrodite once<sup>5</sup>; in each case with *οὐκ*, but in no case with reference to *ἄστυ*. Probably the writers of these poems took *οὐκ ὀνομαστός* straight from the *Odyssey*, and the hint of *ἄστυ* was lost on the way. The word is used once by Pindar, never by Bacchylides, Aeschylus or Sophocles; by Euripides

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides i. 11. 6; Herodotus ii. 178, iv. 47, 58, vi. 114, 126, viii. 89, ix. 72. In all these places it may be translated "notable," a word whose history resembles its own. It approaches nearest to "famous" in vi. 126.

<sup>2</sup> The exceptions are only apparent. In Isocrates *κατὰ Δοχίτρου* 398 D the best manuscripts read *διωνομασμένων*, and the preposition makes a great difference. In Xenophon's *Agésilæus* i. 2 (quoted by Liddell and Scott under the meaning "to make famous") *ὀνομαζομένοις* means simply "mentioned," "enumerated."

<sup>3</sup> xix. 260, 597, xxiii. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Theogonia* 148 *μεγάλοι τε καὶ ὀβριμοί, οὐκ ὀνομαστοί*; fragment 33. 7 *δῶρα παντοῖ, οὐκ ὀνομαστά*.

<sup>5</sup> 254 *σχέτλιον, οὐκ ὀνομαστόν*. In Aratus 385 *οὐκ ὀνομαστά* means "unnamed," in contrast with *ὀνομαστά γέγοντο*, "got names," in 381; and in 264 also *ὀνομασταί* seems to mean "having names" rather than "famous."

once only, in 509 of the *Herakles*, where Amphitryon, whom Lykos is about to put to an ignominious death, says:

ὁράτέ μ' ὅσπερ ἡ περίβλεπτος βροτοῖς,  
ὀνομαστὰ πράσσω· καί μ' ἀφείλεθ' ἡ τύχη  
ὥσπερ πτερὸν πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἡμέρα μῖα.

There, though the meaning "famous" suggests itself at once, *πράσσω* may very well have its passive sense, and the lines may mean, "Behold me who was once conspicuous among men, of a nameable condition," in contrast with the *ὀνόμαστα* which he is to suffer.

Add the passage of Pindar and the passage of Theognis, and we have exhausted the uses of *ὀνομαστός* in Greek poetry earlier than 400 B.C. The very rareness of the word calls special attention to the few places where it does occur. When we find that alike in the *Odyssey*, in Theognis, and in Pindar words in the immediate neighbourhood of *ὀνομαστός* suggest *ἄστυ*, it is hard to believe that the pun is due to chance. The Homeric use has been examined; let us take Pindar's next.

The first Pythian ode was written in 470 in honour of Hieron of *Aitna*, for the tyrant of Syracuse had been proclaimed as a citizen of the town which he had founded a few years before. From the mention of Zeus the poet passes to Typhos the foe of Zeus, thence to Mount Etna, thence to the new city:

εἶη, Ζεῦ, τὴν εἶη ἀνδάνειν,  
ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, εὐκάρποιο γαίης μέτωπον, τοῦ μὲν  
ἐπωνυμίαν  
κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκύδανεν πόλιν  
γαίονα, Πυθιάδος δ' ἐν δρόμῳ κάρυξ ἀνέειπέ νιν ἀγγέλλων  
Ἰέρωνος ὑπὲρ καλλινίκου  
ἄρμασι. ναυσιφορήτοις δ' ἀνδράσι πρῶτα χάρις  
εἰς πλὸν ἀρχομένοις πομπαῖον ἐλθεῖν οὔρον· εἰκότα γὰρ  
καὶ τελευτᾷ φερτέρου νόστου τυχεῖν. ὁ δὲ λόγος  
ταύταις ἐπὶ συντυχίαις δόξαν φέρει  
λοιπὸν ἔσσεσθαι στεφάνοισι νιν ἵπποις τε κλυτὰν  
καὶ σὺν εὐφώνοις θαλίαις ὀνυμαστάν.

Then he makes a fresh start with a prayer to Apollo. Emphasis is thrown on *ὀνυμαστάν* both by its position at the end of the period and by the fact that *κλυτάν* has come but a few words before. If *ὀνυμαστάν* adds nothing to *κλυτάν* it does not deserve its prominent place. But before Theognis and Pindar *ὀνομαστός* always means "fit to be mentioned." Hence it may be conjectured that in *ὀνυμαστάν* more was meant than meets the ear of those who are familiar with the later use of the word; and comparison with *Κακοῖλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν* makes it possible that Pindar wished to hint at a meaning "fit to be called a town," probably from a conscious reminiscence of the line in the *Odyssey*. This might justify his choice of a word which would otherwise be strange<sup>1</sup>.

In Theognis *ἀστοῖσιν* is the next word after *ὀνομαστός*, and *θαυμαστόν* follows in the next line. We now see the reason for the position of *τοῦ Μεγαρέως*, which has been a stumbling-block to many. Connected grammatically with the second half (and no more) of the preceding pentameter, and standing at the head of a hexameter, with a heavy stop immediately after them, these two words necessarily receive a strong emphasis. The effect of this is to lay stress on the fact that Theognis is a citizen of Megara; to remind the reader that all men, when they think of the eminent poet, will think of his city too; and so to prepare the mind for the hint in *ὀνομαστός*, which suggests "bringing fame to my town."<sup>2</sup> The following translation brings out the emphasis on *τοῦ Μεγαρέως*; fairly represents *πᾶς, πάντας, πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν*,

<sup>1</sup> A similar play upon words is perhaps to be seen in *Pythian* iii. 69—71: *παρ' Αἰτναίων ξένον, θε Συνακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεὺς, πρᾶϊς ἀστοῖς, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, ξέλνους δὲ θαυμαστός πατήρ*. The word *Αἰτναίων* calls attention to Hieron as founder of Aitna, and this suggests that the pun *ἀστοῖς...θαυμαστός* was designed to give *θαυμαστός* the meaning "wonderful for his new city." The first *Pythian* ode was written in 470; the third Schröder assigns to 474 or 470.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently it was left to von Leutsch (*Philologus* xxix. p. 512) to discover the pun in *ὀνομαστός ἀστοῖσιν*, and even he did not observe that to make assurance doubly sure the poet adds *θαυμαστόν*. The effect of the position of *τοῦ Μεγαρέως* has never been brought out; even Reitzenstein, who saw that *τοῦ Μεγαρέως* is necessary as an antecedent to *ἀστοῖσιν*, failed to notice that Theognis lays stress on this relation by giving the antecedent a very prominent place.

πάντεσσ' ἀνδάνει; and gives something like the effect of the pun, though of course the hint of ἄστυ in ὀνομαστός vanishes in "renown."

"Cyrnus, on these poems, the fruit of my wisdom, be there a seal set, and never shall they be filched away by stealth, nor will any man take a worse thing when the better is at hand, but each and all will say: 'These poems are by Theognis—Theognis of Megara.' But though all the world knows my renown, in my town at least have I never yet contrived to find favour with all. Nothing astounding in that, son of Polypaus; for not Zeus himself finds favour with all either by rain or by sunshine."

One word in the poem has not yet been discussed. What is the meaning of μὲν? The general practice is to ignore this little word. Sitzler translates line 19 thus<sup>1</sup>: "'Cyrne' callido (vel potius callide agenti) mihi sigillum impressum esto hisce versibus." μὲν is not represented here; indeed Sitzler's interpretation of σοφίζομένῳ leaves no room for μὲν<sup>2</sup>. One of the few writers who have attempted to account for μὲν is Immisch, whose explanation, as the most revolutionary, will be examined first.

Starting from the passage ascribed to Xenophon in Stobaeus, Immisch shews it to be very probable that Xenophon did in fact write a book about Theognis, and possible that he published it anonymously. These conclusions were considered above. He then proceeds to lines 19—26. He observes with truth that two clauses, one causal to the other, cannot be connected by μὲν and δέ<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Even apart from this his translation could not pass. "I will adopt the clever device of setting a seal on my lines" could hardly be expressed by σοφίζομενος σφρηγίδ' ἐπιθήσω τοῖσδ' ἔπειν, and certainly not by σοφίζομένῳ ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικτείσθω τοῖσδ' ἔπειν; and though "callidus sigillum imprimam hisce versibus" is quite good Latin, it would be hard to find anything comparable with "callido mihi sigillum impressum esto hisce versibus" in the same sense.

<sup>3</sup> As an exception he quotes Aelian's *Varia Historia* i. 2: καὶ ἡ μὲν (the spider) ἀρκυρεῖ, πᾶν σφόδρα ἀτρεμούσα, καὶ ἔοικεν ἀκωήτῳ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπέπλεον, ὅτι ποτὲ ἔστι τὸ ἐμπροσόν, ἡ δὲ ἔχει δαῖτα: but this parataxis of cause and effect he thinks possible only in speaking of an *immediate* effect, and "die rasch eintretende Gegenwirkung ist unserer Stelle fremd, schon darum, weil es sich um einem

Nor is the *μὲν* of 19 to be connected with *οὐδέ* of 21 or *δὲ* of 22, for the third clause of the poem merely expands the idea of the second, the fourth that of the second and third. It might be added that the *δὲ* of 23 is equally out of the question, since 23—6, from *πάντας δὲ* onwards, are in contrast only with the indication of the poet's world-wide renown given in 22—3. But Immisch does not take this last *δὲ* into account, for he holds that 23—6 are to be cut out. The thought culminates, he says, in the words *Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη*; and all that follows only whittles away the force of the poem. He quotes a couplet of Eratosthenes, the last two lines of the epigram appended to his *Letter to Ptolemy*<sup>1</sup>:

καὶ τὰ μὲν ὥς τελέοιτο· λέγοι δέ τις ἄνθεμα λεύσσων·  
τοῦ Κυρηναίου τοῦτ' Ἐρατοσθένεος.

He might have added Bacchylides' prayer to Victory<sup>2</sup>:

κούρα Πάλλαντος πολυνώνυμε, πότνια Νίκη,  
πρόφρων Κραναϊδῶν ἱμερόεντα χορὸν  
αἰὲν ἐποπτεύοις, πολέας δ' ἐν ἀθύρμασι Μουσῶν  
Κηφὶ ἀμφιτίθει Βακχυλίδη στεφάνους.

Eratosthenes and Bacchylides mention their cities; and so do prose-writers such as Hecataeus, Herodotus, Thucydides. Immisch however prefers the practice of the old poets, Hesiod<sup>3</sup>, Demodocus, Phocylides, Hipparchus. But it may be observed that though Hesiod adds to his name, as Immisch says, "kein officielles Ethnicum," he gives a very satisfactory substitute; that the poetry of Hipparchus does not seem to have gone beyond a few pentameters inscribed on the Hermae which he

bildlichen Gebrauch und weil es sich um ein Verbum des dauernden Zustandes (*λήσει*) handelt." The immediateness of the effect does not matter; but Aelian, instead of subordinating the cause to the effect, gives a graphic contrast such as is inconceivable in the passage of Theognis.

<sup>1</sup> P. 130 of Hiller's edition. Note that these lines are only the end of a poem which has a subject of its own. They are, so to speak, a versified form of the signature at the bottom of an article.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 71 (Kenyon), a poem which was extant when Immisch wrote.

<sup>3</sup> *Theogonia* 22—3:

αἱ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδὴν,  
ἀρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὕπο ζαθέοιο.

set up in Athens and Attica, where mention of the fact that he was an Athenian would have been superfluous, to say the least; that in Demodocus and Phocylides the mention of the poet's name occurs not in an elaborate introduction such as the poem of Theognis, but in a formula often recurring, which was naturally kept within the smallest possible compass; and that one of them doubtless copied from the other, and had thus the best of reasons for giving to his formula the same number of syllables as his rival; so that Immisch's four examples are reduced to one or none.

Next he criticises the language of 23—4. τοῦ Μεγαρέως is languid after the full-toned pentameter: the expression of 23—4 is 'schief'; the contrast between πάντας ἀνθρώπους and ἀστοῖς is illogical, since the one includes the other. In short 23—4 are by all means to be struck out; and if Stobaeus quotes the words Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως at the head of his excerpt, the fact is of no importance whatever for his relation to the collection which bears the name of Theognis.

In answer to these criticisms an attempt will be made hereafter to shew that 23—6 are excellently suited to what precedes, and more than this, that without them the poem comes to a lame and impotent conclusion. For the present however let Immisch's reasoning speak for and against itself.

He next asks how Stobaeus came to put the words Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη at the head of Xenophon's discussion of 183—90. "Sie müssen in irgend einer Beziehung zu derselben stehen, und das nächste ist, dass sein Gewährsmann sie an Ort und Stelle vorfand, d. h. dass sie (ohne τοῦ Μεγαρέως) bei Xenophon standen, *vor dem Anfange von dessen Schrift*, welcher ja in der Eclogie erhalten ist."<sup>1</sup> Hence he concludes that 19—22 are not the work of Theognis. This is wild reasoning. Immisch does not explain the presence of τοῦ Μεγαρέως in Stobaeus or in the anthology from which Stobaeus borrowed. Presumably they must have been added from the vulgate of Theognis—but why and when? And are we to regard οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητής as the very first words of

<sup>1</sup> See the last lines of p. 96.

Xenophon's book, that is to say the words which followed immediately after 19—22, which served as preface? If so, Xenophon began his book in a very odd fashion. Again, is it impossible that Xenophon may have quoted 22 earlier in his work than 183—90, even if the latter preceded the former in his text of Theognis? And if the scholars are right who think 183—90 the first poem in the original form of Theognis, may they not be right in thinking 19—22 the last? At least Immisch has not shewn that they are wrong.

Immisch's indictment of *πᾶς τις* and *σοφίζομεν* was answered above. To *σφρηγίς* he would give the meaning "seal of silence," quoting many passages, but none at all like ours; in each of them *σφρηγίς* is interpreted by neighbouring words<sup>1</sup>. Thus he comes to his explanation of 19—22. "In short, I regard these lines as nothing but a preface to Xenophon's anonymous book, a sort of compensation for the lack of title. Thus the fragment at the beginning of Stobaeus' extract is explained. The commentator on Theognis might well address himself, as the poet does, to Kyrnos, who had become typical of this kind of poetry; and we can please ourselves whether we suppose that he is thinking of his son Gryllos or of his *παιδικά* Kleinias. I will add that *σοφίζεσθαι* in the sense of *commentari* is in keeping with Xenophon's use of the word (see *Memorabilia*, 1. 2. 46; *Cynegeticus*, 13. 6<sup>a</sup>), and proceed to translate the passage, in the hope that I have removed its difficulties. 'Kyrnos, es soll zwar mir bei meiner Erörterung das Siegel des Schweigens auf diesem Gedichte

<sup>1</sup> In Lucian's epigram (*Anthology* x. 42)—

*ἀρρήτων ἐπέων γλώσση σφραγίς ἐπικελεύσθω·  
κρείστων γὰρ μύθων ἢ κτεάνων φυλακὴ—*

the meaning is determined by *ἀρρήτων ἐπέων*, *γλώσση*, *μύθων*; in Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus* 1051, *χρυσέα κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ βέβακε*, by *ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ* (and *κλῆς* is not the same as *σφρηγίς*); in Nonnus xlvii. 218, *χεῖλεσι δ' ἀφθόγγουσι* *ἐπεσφρηγίσσατο σιγῇ*, by *χεῖλεσι* *ἀφθόγγουσι* and *σιγῇ*; in Christodorus, *Εὐφράσις* 31, *ἀλλὰ ἔ τέχνη χαλκείῃς ἐπέδθησεν ὑπὸ σφρηγίδα σιωπῆς* (a description of a lifelike statue), by *σιωπῆς*; in Solon's saying *σφραγίζου τοὺς μὲν λόγους σιγῇ τὴν δὲ σιγὴν καιρῷ* by *λόγους* and *σιγῇ* (and the meaning is quite different).

<sup>2</sup> These examples are ill chosen. In the former passage the word is used of the subtleties of the youthful mind, in the latter of the quackery of the worst kind of "sophist."

liegen, heimlich bestohlen aber wird es niemals werden'—this naturally refers to Antisthenes; still more clearly the following words:—'auch wird Niemand das Schlechtere eintauschen, wo das Bessere zu Gebote steht. So vielmehr wird ein jeder sprechen: von Theognis ist's das Gedicht!' i.e. this is Theognis undisfigured and rightly understood."

I wish he would explain his explanation, more especially the meaning of "das Gedicht" and of "es," the twenty-first word of his translation. He leaves the antithesis of the *μὲν* clause and the *δὲ* clause altogether unsatisfactory; he has supplied Xenophon with no sufficient motive for this elaborate secrecy; he does not shew how Xenophon's authorship came to be known to Stobaeus; and he does not so much as attempt to explain how 23—6 came to be united with 19—22 in the vulgate. For one difficulty that he claims to remove he raises two.

Immisch has shewn that unless we accept his view of the poem there is nothing in 19—26 which can answer to *μὲν*. Reitzenstein<sup>1</sup> however still maintains that the apodosis is to be found in 23—6, introduced by the *δὲ* of 23. Since the character of his work is such as to lend authority to his opinions, it will be well to prove that on this point at least he is mistaken. With the structure of this poem he compares that of 237—54, where the *μὲν* of 237 is not answered till the *αὐτὰρ* of 253. But there the antithesis is clearly marked, not only by the train of thought but also by the repetition of the same pronouns<sup>2</sup>. Not so in 19—26. Even if the words of the first sentence had been arranged in the order *Κύρνε, σφρηγὶς μὲν σοφίζομένῳ ἐμοὶ ἐπικείσθω τοῖσδ' ἔπεισιν*, still there would have been no reason for such a use of *μὲν* and *δὲ*. Between the poet's assertion that he intends to set the seal of his name on his book, and his complaint that he is not honoured as he deserves in his own country, there is no contrast. A *false* antithesis is not to be thought of here, because of the distance which divides the *μὲν* from the *δὲ*; and moreover false antitheses are generally eked out by

<sup>1</sup> P. 268.

<sup>2</sup> 237 σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, 253 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὀλίγησ' παρὰ σεῦ οὐ τυγχάνω αἰδοῦς.



resemblance of sound. And as the lines stand *μὲν* is attached not to *σφρηγίς*, the chief word of the first sentence, but to *σοφίζομένῳ*, in Reitzenstein's view a word of quite secondary importance. Again, the *δὲ* of 23 has something much nearer to refer to: it contrasts the idea of the poet's world-wide renown, implied in 22—3 and emphasised by the prominent position of *τοῦ Μεγαρέως*, with the complaint of Megara's indifference which is to follow. It seems reasonable to suppose that one apodosis cannot answer to two wholly different and widely distant protases.

Thus all attempts to find the required antithesis inside the poem have failed. We must therefore look *outside*. But before this can be done with any show of reason it must first be proved that 19—26 are a whole poem, not part of a poem or parts of two poems joined together; else it might be held that the second half of the antithesis was contained in lines which are now lost. For this purpose it is not essential that the meaning of *σφρηγίς* should be settled; but since that word is of the utmost importance to the understanding of Theognis, and since it has not yet been discussed in this essay, it will be convenient to discuss it here.

By most scholars *σφρηγίς* has been taken to mean some mark or other of authenticity. Von Leutsch seems to be alone in departing from this view. In his opinion<sup>1</sup> *σφρηγίς* is employed here with reference to its use as a technical term of Greek music, where *σφραγίς* or *ἐπισφράγισις* denotes "the first part of the end of the *νόμος*, by which the truth and weight of what preceded was strengthened"<sup>2</sup>; it followed the *ὀμφαλός* and was followed by the *ἐξόδιον*<sup>3</sup>. "Es soll dem weisens ausführenden, der ich bin, zum schlusse ein seine weisheit bekräftigendes und bestätigendes kennzeichen aufgelegt werden"; but how? *τοῖσδ' ἔπεισιν*, "durch dieses gedicht hier"—a simple instrumental dative. In order to secure this object the poet mentions himself by name in 23, thus informing the reader for the first time that the poems

<sup>1</sup> *Philologus* xxix. pp. 511—3 and 549—50.

<sup>2</sup> P. 511.

<sup>3</sup> P. 549.

which he has read are by the renowned Theognis. That then is the *σφρηγίς*; but how does this agree with *λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα*? The subject of *λήσει* must be *τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σοφίζόμενα, σοφίσματα*, as is shewn by *μὲν* and *δὲ*, which here contrast whole clauses. The poet says: "Kyrnos, dem weises vortragenden der ich bin soll zwar ein bekräftigendes kennzeichen aufgelegt werden durch dies gedicht, heimlich entfernt wird aber niemals diese weisheit aus dem volk"—*λήσει κτλ.* expresses self-confidence based on sure renown—; "auch wird nicht einer offen ein schlechteres eintauschen, da das bessere da ist"—an amplification of what precedes, cast in a proverbial form. "Und zwar dies alles deshalb, weil jeder jetzt sagen wird *Θεύγνιδός κτλ.*"—everybody now sees that the preceding poems are by the great Theognis. This "seal" is not meant to guard against plagiarism, but to enhance the value and influence of the poems and to ensure them immortality.

The worst fault of this explanation is the artificial sense which it gives to *σφρηγίς*. The seven parts of Terpander's nome are an eternal subject of dispute. It is not even agreed whether the divisions corresponded to a change in rhythm or metre, or to a change in the character of the music. Attempts have been made to trace them in Pindar and in elegy, but with little success<sup>1</sup>. The ordinary Greek saw no doubt a certain proportion and balance in Terpander's nomes, but only a few composers can have had the power or taken the trouble to trace out the divisions whereon this proportion depended, so that everyday language felt no need of words to express these divisions, and their names accordingly did not emerge from the obscurity of technical terms; very much as one can read a sonnet without knowing the names of its parts. If ever such technicalities came to be used by way of metaphor in poetry, it would be in the artificialities and preciousnesses of a sophisticated age, in a Callimachus rather than a Theognis. And to what after all amounts this analogy which von Leutsch sees between the *σφρηγίς* of a nome and the

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Gildersleeve's edition of the *Olympians* and *Pythians*, pp. xlvi—lvii.

poem of Theognis? The writer of an ode, when he is drawing to a conclusion, dwells for a moment, naturally enough, on the essence of his theme, and then proceeds to finish off his task. In this elegy, if it was the last of his book, Theognis neither adds anything to his theme nor sums it up, but simply takes this means of writing his name and *Finis*, so to speak, at the foot of the last page. From an analogy so remote how was the reader of Theognis to discover that *σφρηγίς* was not the word with which he was familiar, the word of everyday language, but a technical term of an intricate art?

Thus even on the assumption that this elegy was the last of the volume, von Leutsch's view cannot be maintained; still less when we remember that this assumption is made in defiance of the manuscripts, and on no other evidence than a subjective interpretation of *σφρηγίς*, the very word in dispute.

Nor is von Leutsch's explanation of *μὲν* more fortunate. Note, in his translation of 19-20, the words "zwar" and "aber." If they mean anything, they imply that the second clause is in some way *opposed* to the first; that *λήσει κτλ.* are the second thoughts of the poet, expressing a reflection which gives him pause. "I will set a *σφρηγίς* on my poems by these lines—and yet what need? They will never be filched away by stealth, and no man will prefer the worse when the better is at hand, but everyone will say, 'These lines are by Theognis'." From *λήσει* to *ἔπη* there is no break; each clause follows naturally upon the clause which precedes, not contradicting it but expanding it. How then does Theognis redeem his promise of a *σφρηγίς*, when all but the first sentence of the poem is in opposition to that promise? Von Leutsch's explanation, in fact, is divided against itself. He never breaks quite away from the meaning commonly given to *σφρηγίς*. And even the obscure interpretation which he gives is only produced by overtranslating the antithesis of *μὲν* and *δέ*. To justify "zwar" and "aber" something stronger than *δέ*, something as strong as *ἀλλ' ὁμως*, would be required in the second clause.

Yet another objection to von Leutsch's view will perhaps

lead to a right interpretation of the poem. To λήσει von Leutsch supplies as subject τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σοφιζόμενα or σοφίσματα, which he infers from σοφιζόμενῳ. But the natural word to supply a subject from is ἔπεισιν, the word which immediately precedes it, and the only noun which precedes it except Κύρνε and σφρηγίς, which are out of the question. Therefore, unless good cause is shewn, the subject of λήσει must be τὰδε ἔπη; and that is the subject which most critics supply. It follows that τοῖσδ' ἔπεισιν are not lines 19—26 (or 19—24 as Welcker would say, or 19—22 as Sitzler and Immisch would say), but the whole collection of poems to which 19—26 (or 19—24, or 19—22) served as preface or peroration as the case may be; and that this is so is proved beyond all doubt by line 22, where even von Leutsch takes ἔπη to mean "poems."<sup>1</sup> τοῖσδ' ἔπεισιν must therefore be not dative of instrument, as von Leutsch supposes, but locatival dative, going closely with ἐπικείσθω. The following may serve for the time being as a translation of the first clause: "Cyrnus, be there a seal set on these poems of my wisdom." What is this seal to be? Not the word Κύρνε, as Sitzler imagines<sup>2</sup>, borrowing the idea from J. A. Hartung; for that would make the position of μὲν false and intolerable. Hartung saw this objection<sup>3</sup> (though Sitzler does not), and met or rather avoided it by emending the line thus: Κύρνε, σοφιζόμενῳ ὀνομά μοι— a conjecture which condemns itself. Nor must we think of cryptograms, the refinement of a recent age. No, the matter is much more simple. The seal is merely the word Θεόγνιδος<sup>4</sup>; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, not any word in particular, but the whole tenour of the poem. It is the declaration of the author's name which is the seal, the hall-

<sup>1</sup> He translates it by "der vorstehenden gedichte" (p. 512, first line).

<sup>2</sup> He prints Κύρνε between inverted commas. For his reasons see pp. 26—7 of his prolegomena.

<sup>3</sup> E. Hiller, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 472: "Indessen war er (Hartung) einsichtig genug um zu erkennen, dass bei dieser der wortlauf der überlieferung unmöglich wäre." O. Crusius writes to the same effect in the *Rheinisches Museum* xlii. p. 623, n. i.

<sup>4</sup> This is the view of Welcker, Hiller, Crusius, Reitzenstein, to mention only a few names.

mark, the guarantee of merit, just as a great maker's name on a piano is a proof of good workmanship. Demodocus and Phocylides wove their names into single aphorisms, thus making the token of their authorship inseparable from each poem. Not so Theognis. His σφρηγὶς was to come only once in a collection of his poems which he himself had made. He acted as his own editor for at least a part of his works<sup>1</sup>. Is this declaration of the author's name to be compared with the title-page at the beginning of a modern book, or with the signature at the end of a modern article?

Let us assume for the moment that the poem ended at 22. Here we have four lines leading up to three words, Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη. What a time it takes the poet to grow to a point, and what a tiny point he grows to at last! Surely there is a lack of proportion in this. The ear is offended by the jerkiness of the last line, clean cut into two halves. The fault cannot be proved by arithmetic; but notice that even Eratosthenes, in the single couplet which finishes off an argument, allows his signature the luxury of a whole line to itself. All this abruptness is removed if we are content to trust the manuscripts, and to see in the union of 19—22 with 23—6 not the patchwork of an interpolator but the master craft of the poet himself. By putting τοῦ Μεγαρέως in an emphatic position Theognis makes easy the transition from his fame to his critics<sup>2</sup>, and so to the comparison with Zeus which brings the poem to an end. 19—26 are a single poem, but a poem which begins with one subject and ends with another. The contemptuous pride of the second half is not what we should expect at the end of a book; and for this reason if for no other we must abide by the testimony of the manuscripts, in which the poem serves not as epilogue but as preface.

We must now return to μέν. Nothing in 19—26 can

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein (p. 267) remarks that the σφρηγὶς of Theognis "bezeugt noch für uns das älteste nachweisbar vom Autor selbst edierte Buch"—in Greece it is to be presumed he means.

<sup>2</sup> Neither the punning sense which I would give to ὀνομαστός nor the more obvious pun ὀνομαστός δοτοῖσιν is essential to this connexion. If in place of ὀνομαστός Theognis had written περιλειτός (a word of which Bacchylides is fond), the connexion of thought would be the same, but it would not be so well expressed.

supply the required antithesis; and if the δ' of 27 is adversative, it only contrasts the poet's willingness to instruct Cynus with the contempt for his detractors which he shews in 23—26. The second half of the antithesis, then, is not expressed in words. But it must have been present in the poet's mind. μέν is often thus used alone<sup>1</sup>. Here its effect is to lay stress on σοφίζομένῳ: "when I play the sage at least"; or the meaning may be given more neatly in English by a comparative: "in my wiser vein." This explains why σοφίζομένῳ was given its prominent place. When a participle begins a sentence thus and is followed by μέν, it must be a word of the first importance. There is another suggestion of contrast in the first line of the next poem, 27—38, which completes the introduction so well by announcing the poet's main theme that its position cannot be due to chance. The first couplet of the poem runs thus:

σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷά περ αὐτός,  
Κύρν', ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον.

What is the meaning of εὖ φρονέων? These two words might be thought to have no special significance but that they appear in the imitation of this passage in the *Birds*, where Peithetairos prefaces his advice to the Πατραλοίας with these words<sup>2</sup>:

σοὶ δ', ὦ νεανίσκ', οὐ κακῶς ὑποθήσομαι,  
ἀλλ' οἷάπερ αὐτὸς ἔμαθον ὅτε παῖς ἦ.

Dr Merry says: "There is a litotes in οὐ κακῶς. He means 'very good advice.'" But if οὐ κακῶς is simply equivalent to εὖ, the adversative ἀλλά is out of place. It would seem that to the mind of Aristophanes the words εὖ φρονέων conveyed

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Iliad* v. 893 τὴν μὲν, "her at least"; Sophocles, *Antigone* 634, *Oedipus Coloneus* 995; Euripides, *Orestes* 8; Aristophanes, *Birds* 1220 τῆδε μὲν γὰρ οὐδ', "not this way at any rate." Perhaps the same use of μέν is to be seen in a trimeter mentioning our poet's name which was proverbial already in the time of Lucilius. Plutarch, *Moralia* p. 395 D: ἡ Τουτὶ μὲν ἦδεις πρὶν Θέογνιν γεγενῆσθαι, κατὰ τὸν κωμικόν; P. 777 C: ἔωλόν ἐστι, καὶ ὑποκινεῖται τῷ Τουτὶ μὲν ἦδεις πρὶν Θέογνιν γεγενῆσθαι. Aulus Gellius, i. iii. 19: hoc profecto nemo ignoravit et priusquam Theognis, quod Lucilius ait, nasceretur.

<sup>2</sup> 1362—3.

the meaning that the attitude which Theognis took towards Cynrus in the first book was not an attitude of which Cynrus need be ashamed. It is thus quite possible that εὖ φρονέων may have hinted at the meaning "with quite honourable intentions," in contrast with some other poems in which the relation between Theognis and Cynrus appeared in a less creditable light<sup>1</sup>.

It has been shewn that 19—26 were intended as a preface to a volume; presumably to the first book only, since the second has prefaces of its own. We must therefore look *outside* the first book for the other body of poetry wherein Theognis does *not* play the sage. Those who take Κύρνε to be the σφρηγίς may urge that by σοφιζομένῳ μὲν Theognis wished to distinguish the truly gnostic poems from others in the first book. But in the first place, many of the gnostic poems of the first book contain neither Κύρνε nor Πολυπαῖδη nor any other indication of their author; for example 425—8, 429—38, 301—2, 499—502. In the second place, if 19—26 are a preface—and it is necessary to take them as such—they must be a preface to a *collection* of poems, and Theognis must claim as his own not only those poems in which Κύρνε or Πολυπαῖδη occurs, but the whole collection. Moreover the first book contains very few passages which fall outside the limits of σοφιζομένῳ. Athenaeus fixed on only one, and the list cannot be far extended unless we choose to give φιλέω, φίλος, φιλότης the worse of the two possible meanings in places where, prejudice apart, the better is quite admissible.

For these reasons we must look for the unwiser poetry elsewhere. Another suggestion of something less creditable than the first book is to be found in 367—70. "I know not what to make of my fellow-townsmen's mind, for neither my good things nor my bad find favour; but though many, bad and noble alike, find fault with me, none of the unwise can match my skill."<sup>2</sup> To what does οὔτε εὖ ἔρδων οὔτε κακῶς refer? Hardly to politics, for Theognis is not likely, cynic

<sup>1</sup> Compare however Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 286 (quoted by Welcker) σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐσθλὰ ρόων ἐρέω, and *Odyssey* v. 143 αὐτὰρ οἱ πρόφρων ὑποθήσομαι.

<sup>2</sup> 367—8 appear again in 1184 *a b*.

though he is, to have confessed himself guilty of misconduct in affairs of state. The key to the problem is the very rare word *ἀσόφων*, which implies that it was in the character of *σοφός* or poet that Theognis had failed to please. In connexion with poetry "doing well or ill" must refer to different standards of morality: "neither in my virtuous nor in my vicious style." If Theognis wrote poems such as we find in the second book, it must be of them that he speaks.

A new light is now thrown on the last line of the second book. This collection of erotic poems ends with a short address to Aphrodite: "Cytherea, Cyprus-born, weaver of wiles, what is this signal gift that Zeus hath given thee to have and hold? Thou tamest the shrewd hearts of men, and none is strong or *sage* enough to escape." By this word *σοφός* the poet seems to echo the *σοφίζομένῳ* of line 19. He is a sage, and as such he has written a book of moral precepts: for his unwiser poems let no man reproach him, since none is sage enough to escape Love.

The second book then satisfies 19 and 368. But is the second book the work of Theognis?



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE SECOND BOOK.

ALL the manuscripts but one end at line 1220; the Mutinensis alone has 1231—1389. Reitzenstein<sup>1</sup> remarks that while the Mutinensis gives *Θεόγνιδος ἐλεγείων α'* as the heading of the first book, for the second it gives only *ἐλεγείων β'*, with no poet's name; and this suggests to his mind that the heading of the first book may be a combination of two titles, *Θεόγνιδος* and *ἐλεγείων α'*. The inference is not warranted. No importance can be attached to the omission of *Θεόγνιδος* before the second book. *Θεόγνιδος* is evidently common to both books, and it was omitted in the second only because it was superfluous. *ἐλεγείων* also might have been omitted in the second case, but that the single letter *β'* would have been too insignificant a title by itself.

This second book is in many ways very different from the first. It is all concerned with one unpleasant subject. We miss the constant repetition of *Κύρνε* and *Πολυπαῖδη*. In fact, beyond the names of gods and characters of legend, there are in the whole of the book only two proper names; elsewhere the poems are addressed, with monotonous repetition of such expressions as *ὦ παῖ*, *ὦ καλὲ παῖ*, *ὄβριμε παῖδων*, to a boy whose name does not appear.

The general verdict is that the *Μοῦσα παιδική* does not belong to Theognis. Many reasons have helped to form this opinion: the presumption that Theognis' poetry was purely gnomic; a reluctance to associate poems of such a kind with any name well-known and respected; apparent discrepancies

<sup>1</sup> P. 55.

between the vocabularies of the first and second books; and so on. The question of language must come first.

Attic forms are certainly commoner in the second book than in the first. But their number is of less importance than their character. If they are such as might be due to scribes, it matters little that they have been introduced with less scruple or excluded with greater care in the one book than in the other. Since the second book appears in only one manuscript, and the first is incomplete in all, we can safely assume that the two books were handed down for a time apart; and it may have been during this separation that the Atticisms crept in. As for style and language, H. van Herwerden<sup>1</sup> has brought certain brief but emphatic charges against the second book, and A. Couat<sup>2</sup> has added to the list. These accusations must be examined one by one.

In 1235 ἀπειθῆ, if it is sound, must be active in sense: "unpersuasive." Everywhere else in good Greek the word seems to be passive, but εὐπειθῆς and many other such compounds are used for both voices. ἀπειθῆ active is more appropriate in 1235 than Meineke's ἀπεχθῆ.

1241—2 are given thus by the manuscript :

χαιρήσεις τῇ πρόσθε παροιχομένη φιλότῃτι,  
τῆς δὲ παρερχομένης οὐκέτ' ἔση ταμῖης.

τῆς παρερχομένης probably means "that which is going by," "present," not "future." It means "future" only with regard to the speaker, since its time is determined for him by the tense of ἔση. It is needless to give other examples of a present participle used of action contemporaneous with the action of a main verb in the future or aorist tense. Thus we need not search for instances of παρέρχομαι meaning the same as ἐπέρχομαι. Hiller went astray here, for he contents himself with denying (but not disproving) Couat's assertion that before the time of Plutarch παρέρχομαι is never equivalent to ἐπέρχομαι. Some may prefer to think παρερχομένης a

<sup>1</sup> *Animadversiones Philologicae ad Theognidem*, pp. 14—16.

<sup>2</sup> *Le second livre d'élégies attribué à Théognis*, in the *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, v. (1883) pp. 257—90.

mere mistake due to assimilation with *παροιχομένη*, and adopt Bergk's conjecture *τῆς γὰρ ἐπερχομένης*; but this is unnecessary. With the *παρονομασία* of *παροιχομένη* and *παπερχομένης* compare *μωμῶνται—μυμῶσθαι* in 369—70, *ὀνομαστός ἀστοίοισιν—θαυμαστόν* in 23—5, *μηδὲν—Μήδων* in 764, *ἄγγελον ἄλλον ἰάλλοις* in 573. In *ταμίης* is a link with the first book that has escaped notice. Compare *γνώμης οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ ταμίης ἡμετέρης* in 504, and 1185—6:

*νοῦς ἀγαθὸν καὶ γλῶσσα· τὰ δ' ἐν παύροισι πέφυκεν  
ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ταμίαι.*

Homer calls Aeolus *ταμίης ἀνέμων*<sup>1</sup>, Pindar has *οἶκον ταμίαν στεφάνων*, and the word is often used of control over a city, wealth, the weather, and so on; it denotes administration in some large field. But with a singular noun denoting a single thing it is very rare. In 566 of the *Clouds* Poseidon is called *τριάλης ταμίαν*: but the trident is the symbol of Poseidon's sovereignty over the sea. Thucydides comes nearest to the Theognidean use when he says in vi. 78. 3: *οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἅμα τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ταμίαν γενέσθαι*. Three instances of this peculiar use in fourteen hundred lines are quite out of proportion; and it is better, if possible, to assign all three to the same hand.

1247—8: *φρόντισον ἔχθος ἐμὸν καὶ ὑπέρβασιν, ἴσθι δὲ θυμῷ ὥς σ' ἐφ' ἀμαρτωλῇ τίσομαι ὡς δύναμαι*.

It looks at first sight as if *σὴν* must be supplied here with *ὑπέρβασιν*. Herwerden thinks this a fault, and so it would be in Theognis; but would it be less so in any writer of good Greek? Even if all the charges that have been brought against the *Μοῦσα παιδική* could be upheld, at least its author or authors were familiar with good Greek and capable of writing it better than modern composers of Greek verse<sup>2</sup>; and

<sup>1</sup> On *ταμίης ἀνέμων* depends an expression in Plato's *Timaeus*, 84 D: *ὁ τῶν πνευμάτων τῷ σώματι ταμίης πλεῦμων*.

<sup>2</sup> Hiller, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 471: "diese aber" (the poems of the second book) "machen in der schlichten eleganz der darstellung, im stil wie im wortschatz, ebenso auch in der art der Homerischen nachahmungen, durchaus nicht den eindruck der alexandrinischen oder gar der römischen zeit anzugehören."

what modern composer would commit such a fault as this? Surely *ἐμήν*, not *σήν*, is to be supplied. "Consider my hatred and my transgression, and be assured that I will punish thee for a fault as best I may." "I have given you offence," says the poet in effect, "and I confess it; but I warn you to weigh my offence against the power of my hatred and the vengeance which I shall take if you retaliate." Here it is the poet who is in the wrong and unrepentant. *ὑπέρβασιν* for *ὑπερβασίαν* does not appear elsewhere except in Hesychius: but every poet has his peculiarities. Hiller confesses that *ἀμαρτωλῇ* is remarkable. What are the facts? The word occurs here, in 1281, in 327 of the first book; probably in 325 also, where A has *ἀμαρτωλῆσι*, O *ἀμαρτωλοῖσι*; but nowhere else before Rhianus, at the end of the third century<sup>1</sup>. Now all agree that 323—8 are the work of Theognis. This suggests that 1247—8 and 1279—82 were written either by Theognis himself or by an imitator acute enough to observe this rare word in Theognis and to introduce it into his forgery. If all that was known to posterity as the poetry of Theognis was certain parts of the first book, the easiest way of passing off imitations as his would have been to insert *Κύρνε* or *Πολυπαῖδη*. Far more probably 1247—8 and 1279—82 came from Theognis himself.

On *ἐπικείται καρτερὸς ἀγνώμων σῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος* in 1259—60 Herwerden says that the usage of the older writers requires *περίκειται* or *ἀμφίκειται*. This is mere mechanical criticism. *περί* and *ἀμφί* are no doubt more appropriate than *ἐπί* to headgear considered as a garment; but none the less Homer has *κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο* and *ἐπὶ στεφάνην κεφαλῆφιν αἶρας θήκατο*, Euripides has *ἐπὶ δ' ἔθεντο κισσίνους στεφάνους*<sup>2</sup>. If *ἐπιτίθεσθαι* can be thus used, so can *ἐπικεῖσθαι*.

<sup>1</sup> In 1111 of the *Thestomphoriasusae* Aristophanes puts these words of broken Greek into the mouth of the Scythian *ταξίτης*:

οὐ παρτέν ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἀμαρτωλὴ γέρωσ.

There *ἀμαρτωλὴ* is usually regarded as an adjective, but it may equally well be a noun: "she is no maiden but a hoary piece of sin."

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* v. 743, x. 30; Euripides, *Bacchae* 702.

Couat thinks ἀνέψυξας in 1273 a mark of late origin<sup>1</sup>. But the word is found in Homer, Hesiod and Euripides. ἀναψύχειν was apparently a technical term of seamanship, meaning to give a boat a rest and let it get dry, in which sense it occurs in Herodotus<sup>2</sup> and Xenophon<sup>3</sup>. It is this special sense that the word bears in 1273; or at least this sense led to the nautical metaphor which follows:

ἐκ δὲ θυελλῶν  
ἡκά γ' ἐνωρμίσθην νυκτὸς ἐπειγόμενος.

Megara had a large sea-trade, and 1197—1202 suggest that Theognis engaged in it, with very ill success, at least once in his life. For other nautical metaphors see in the second book 1361—2; in the first 84, 457—60, 856, 970, and the elaborate allegory in 671—80. In 970 νηὺς ἄθ' ἐκάς διέχω has been sorely emended, but very likely διέχειν was a technical term meaning to give a thing a wide berth.

Herwerden finds fault with the use of παιδείη for ἡβη in 1305 and 1348. But in neither place would ἡβη suit the poet's purpose. The limit of παιδεραστία is fixed in 1327—30:

ὦ παῖ, ἕως ἂν ἔχῃς λείαν γένυν, οὐποτε σαίνων  
παύσομαι, οὐδ' εἴ μοι μόρσιμόν ἐστι θανεῖν.  
σρί τε διδόντ' ἔτι καλόν, ἐμοί τ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἐρῶντι  
αἰτεῖν<sup>4</sup>.

"As long as thy chin is smooth"—that is, until ἡβη begins. ἡβη does not mean "boyhood." Though παιδεία usually means "education," it must have got that meaning from the other, which the formation of the word (compare παρθενεία, ἀνδρεία, ἐφηβεία) requires. Nor are examples of the meaning "boyhood" far to seek<sup>5</sup>. The two instances of this rare use

<sup>1</sup> He calls it an erotic word, and quotes examples from Meleager and Heliodorus.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Hellenica* i. 5. 10.

<sup>4</sup> The connexion between 1327—8 and 1329—32 is almost certain. *ἐτι* refers of course to *ἕως ἂν κ.τ.λ.* Bergk's *διδόν* *ἐπι* is a mere conjecture.

<sup>5</sup> Lysias *pro Polystrato*, 11: ἐκ παιδείας φίλος. Plato, *Laws* vii. 808 B παιδαγωγοῖς παιδίας καὶ νηπιότητος χάριν, ix. 864 D ἡ γὰρ ὑπερμέτρῳ ξυνεχόμενος ἡ παιδία χρώμενος, *Politicus* 268 E τῷ μύθῳ μου πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες. πάντως οὐ πολλὰ ἐκφεύγεις παιδίας *ἐτη*. In the last passage, however, *παιδιάς* should perhaps be read; and in each of the three passages of Plato the reading

of the word in the *Μούσα παιδική* point to a single author; the evidence of *παιδείη* supports that of *ἀμαρτωλή*.

In *θυμῷ γνούς...τοῦτο συνεῖς* in 1305—6 and *τούτοις—τούτοις* in 1312—4, Herwerden sees “ingratiissima, paucis interpositis, abundantia.” That is a matter of taste; but few will think the repetition of *τούτοις* at least anything but good and effective.

In 1307 the passive *βίησαι* is strange, but then every writer has strange things. Compare Sophocles’ love of the middle voice. In the same line Herwerden thinks *δβριμε παίδων* rather absurd. Here again one may be allowed to differ from the Dutch scholar. *δβριμε παίδων* is of course mock-heroic, and it is modelled on such expressions as *δία γυναικῶν*.

The *ὦδ’* of *ὥσπερ ἐγὼ νῦν ὦδ’ ἐπὶ σοί* in 1309 is superfluous, but then it is only a conjecture of Bekker’s. The manuscript has *οἶδ’*, and probably Bergk’s *οἶδ’* should be read.

In 1311 the manuscript gives *οὐκ ἔλαβες κλέψας, ὦ παῖ· καὶ γάρ σε δίδωμαι*. Hermann, followed by Bergk, reads *διδώμμαι*. —*ῶμμαι* does not seem to have an active or middle meaning elsewhere.

In 1316 the manuscript has *εχεισθα*, which should probably be *ἐχεισθα*. This termination appears here and there in Greek<sup>1</sup>. It seems to be Aeolic.

Instead of *γνούς ἔρος ὡς χαλεπὸν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ φέρειν* in 1322 Herwerden<sup>2</sup> thinks an old poet would have written *γνούς ἔρον ὡς χαλεπός*, and Bergk would emend accordingly; without good cause. *χαλεπός* would have been more normal, no doubt, but a neuter is often thus substituted in poetry<sup>3</sup>;

varies between *παιδιά*, *παιδια* and *παιδεία*. G. Dindorf (in Stephanus-Dindorf s.v. *παιδια*) would read *παιδείης* in Theognis, with long ι. ‘This may be right; compare *πολυδρίησιν* in 703, *ἀπιστίη* in 831, *καχεταιρίης* in 1169, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See Bergk on the twenty-second fragment of Sappho. *εἴησθα* occurs in 715 of the first book of Theognis, *σχήσσησθα* or *σχήσεισθα* in the Hymn to Demeter, 366; *φίλησθα* in Theocritus xxix. 4; there is some evidence for *ἐθέλησθα* in *Iliad* i. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 14 and viii.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *οἶνος πινόμενος πούλῳς κακόν* in 509, γλυκὺ referring to *ἔρως* in 1355, Virgil’s “triste lupus stabulis,” “dulce satis umor,” etc.

and the poet may have written ἔρος, which is quite grammatical, in order to avoid repetition of the syllable -ον.

On μερμήρας in 1325 Couat says: "le mot n'est sans doute peu classique: il ne se trouve que dans la Théogonie d'Hésiode, dans le préambule qui est rempli d'interpolations."<sup>1</sup> To this Hiller replies that line 55 of the *Theogony* can be traced at least as far back as the fourth century. The latest criticism tends to shew that the Hesiodic poems took their present shape much earlier. In the same way ἀπελάκτισ' in 1337 is sufficiently supported by two instances of the word in Aeschylus<sup>2</sup>.

Herwerden "does not know by what analogy to defend παιδοφίλῃσιν in 1357," and thinks that the word should mean "qui a pueris amatur," not "puerorum amator." παιδοφίλης and γυναικοφίλης, both active in sense, are quoted by Pollux from Teleclides and Polyzelus, two poets of the old comedy<sup>3</sup>. With the formation of the word compare πολυπόρθης<sup>4</sup>.

On περὶ παῖδα πονούμενον εἰς φιλότητα in 1359 Herwerden exclaims "elegantior scilicet et tersa graecitate!" περὶ παῖδα πονούμενον is excellent Greek. εἰς φιλότητα means "with a view to love," and resembles ἐς πόλεμον θωρήξομαι; it is to the Homeric ἐν φιλότῃ as desire to enjoyment.

"Antiquis Graecis pronomen semel positum sufficit," says Herwerden on οὐδέ με πείσει οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ὥστε με μὴ σε φιλεῖν in 1363—4. It would have sufficed any man who could write such good Greek as the Μοῦσα παιδική. Bergk suggests ὥστ' ἐμέ, that is μὴ σε φιλεῖν ὥστε ἐμάντον<sup>5</sup>.

In 1367—8 Herwerden would emend away πιστὸς in the meaning "cui quis fidelis est." But γυναικὶ δὲ πιστὸς ἐταῖρος

<sup>1</sup> It occurs also in an epigram ascribed by Kaibel to the second or third century of our era (G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 551). The verb μερμηρίζω is common in Homer; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 5, has ἀπομερμηρίζω.

<sup>2</sup> *Prometheus* 651: σὺ δ', ὦ παῖ, μὴ ἀπολακτίσῃς λέχος τὸ Ζηνός. *Eumenides* 141: κάπολακτίσας' ὄνον.

<sup>3</sup> See Meineke's *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, ii. pp. 378 and 871.

<sup>4</sup> γυναικοφίλης occurs also in Theocritus, ποροφίλης in the Anthology. δαυτοφίλης has been proposed in 1044 of Theognis.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps ὡς σ' ἐμέ should be read: "no man shall persuade me not to love thee as someone has persuaded thee not to love me."

οὐδείς probably means: "none of her companions trusts a woman." For the active use of πιστός compare 283 and perhaps 1246.

1379—80: ἐγὼ δ' αἰέκων τῆς σῆς φιλότητος ἀμαρτῶν  
ὠνήμην ἔρδων οἶά τ' ἐλεύθερος ἄν.

Herwerden remarks: "οἶά τε Graece poni solet pro ἅτε, ὥστε, i.e. quippe. Sed huius versiculi auctor potius voluisse videtur: ἔρδων οἶα ἂν ἔρδοι ἐλεύθερος, ita ut τε turpiter abundet." This is judging Theognis by an Attic standard. If we treat this as a *Homeric* use of οἶός τε, all is well. Compare *Iliad* vii. 208: σεύατ' ἔπειθ' οἶός τε πελώριος ἔρχεται Ἄρης<sup>1</sup>. "Though I lost thy love against my will I gained thereby, for now I do what a free man may."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the criticisms of Herwerden and Couat do not amount to much. An equally grave indictment of the first book or any part of it as long as the second might be made out with ease. Herwerden adds that these erotic poems are remarkable for nothing but the poverty of their ideas. This again is a matter of taste. The book as a whole has doubtless few admirers, but it contains some pieces of merit. As for its morality, Herwerden refers to passages of Pindar, Mimnermus, Solon and Ibycus, which shew that its author sinned in very good company. Nevertheless most modern critics have rejected the claims of Theognis without a doubt. Welcker's remarks are typical of his method<sup>3</sup>. "This collection of epigrams, into which only one alien poem<sup>4</sup> has found its way,...may have been added to the Theognidea by some scribe either because he saw the name Cynrus in it (in 1353—6, a parody), or merely because of the title ἐλεγείων prefixed to both sections, which he referred to subject as well as form.... However this may be, one thing is manifest, that these erotic epigrams (which, it must be confessed, rank high in their filthy kind) might have been given a fitter place

<sup>1</sup> See Monro's *Homeric Grammar*, § 266.

<sup>2</sup> But the conglomeration of participles is intolerable, and with little hesitation I have printed in the text Dr Henry Jackson's conjecture ἐρίδων for ἔρδων.

<sup>3</sup> P. cii.

<sup>4</sup> 1351—2.



beside the similar anthology of Straton than at the end of Theognis. From the Theognidean medley I have added only eight couplets at their head<sup>1</sup>. Here belong also 253—4, which we wanted among the parodies.”

1353—6 are not a parody, as we saw above; they have in common with 301—2 nothing but a set form of words; it is on other grounds that their right to appear in the *Μοῦσα παιδική* must be challenged. With regard to 1351—2, they are erotic only in their address; but it is not impossible that in the midst of erotic poems Theognis should have inserted such a warning to the object of his passion; and a poem beginning with *ὦ παῖ* could never have stood in the first book. 253—4, be it said once again, are an indispensable part of the poem 237—54.

Of the passages which Welcker adds to the *Μοῦσα παιδική* from the first book, 959—62 are an allegory:

ἔστε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπινον ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου,  
 ἡδύ τί μοι ἐδόκει καὶ καλὸν εἶμεν ὕδωρ·  
 νῦν δ' ἤδη τεθόλωται, ὕδωρ δ' ἀναμίσγεται ὕλει·  
 ἄλλης δὲ κρήνης πίομαι ἢ ποταμοῦ.

This is a poem which, like the polypus, would take its colour from its surroundings. By putting it in the *Μοῦσα παιδική* Welcker gives it an erotic interpretation. But if it is erotic, the genders of the nouns in the last line have an obvious significance; the poem is gynaecrastic as well as paederastic, and more the former than the latter; and it is therefore unlike anything in the second book. But the lines which precede it where it stands charge somebody with ingratitude; those which follow regret a commendation too hastily uttered. Neither *Κύρνε* nor *Πολυπαῖδη* occurs between 897 and 1028, so that we need not assume that either of these poems is addressed to Cyrnus; and whether 959—62 are connected with them or not, the allegory need not be interpreted in an erotic sense<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 959—62, 1091—1102.

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless an explanation which will account for the alternative *κρήνης ἢ ποταμοῦ* is to be preferred. Allegories do not give alternatives without cause.

The connexion which binds together the five poems 1087—90, 1091—4, 1095—6, 1097—1100 and 1101—4 was explained above<sup>1</sup>. They are characteristic of the relation between Theognis and Cynus, such at least as the poet chooses to make it appear in the first book; they speak of friendship rather than of passion. Moreover in 1098 Theognis speaks of Cynus as a man; the poet of the second book always calls him to whom he speaks a boy. It is true that in 1352 the boy is spoken of as a young man, ἀνδρὶ νέῳ: but while the terms "young man" and "boy" overlap, "man" and "boy" do not.

Thus Welcker, Herwerden and Couat have pleaded in vain. In the absence of further evidence against Theognis let it suffice to examine the verdict of the latest historian of the Greek lyric poets.

"On a contesté aussi," says A. Croiset\*, "l'authenticité des vers érotiques. Mais les raisons invoquées ne sont pas décisives, ou du moins elles ne portent que sur une partie d'entre eux. L'absence de ces cent cinquante vers dans tous les manuscrits sauf un seul prouve uniquement qu'il y avait plusieurs rédactions du recueil. On comprend que la nature des vers en question les ait fait exclure en général, et que la rédaction qui ne les comprenait pas ait été la plus répandue: elle répondait mieux à l'idée qu'on devait se faire d'un poète moral."

More probably the two books existed long apart. The end of the first book is lost, and the end of a manuscript is one of the places most subject to loss. Atticisms are not so common in the first book as in the second, and this difference is accounted for if the second book was handed down apart

<sup>1</sup> In 1093 A has γυνώσκω, the rest γυνώσκων. 1093—4 *might* stand alone, but it is much better to join them with 1091—2. Final *nu* was easily omitted. For βρόχον in 1099 Scaliger read βρόκχον, a form preserved by Hesychius. But βρόχον may be scanned as a trochee: compare Ἰππομέδοντος and Φαίωχίτῳρες in Aeschylus, Æcheruns in Latin, ἰάχῳ by the side of ἰάχῃ, λακχῃ, ἰακχος. In 1098 van der Mey reads πτερύγεσσιν ἐπαίρωμαι ὥστε πτερυὼν ἐκ Λιβύης μεγάλης, "the bird from great Libya," to wit the ostrich. If the ostrich rose up on wings in Theognis' day, its habits have changed.

<sup>2</sup> ii.<sup>2</sup> pp. 139—40.

from the first. If one of two current forms of the Theognidea had contained both books, either the second book must have left more traces on Greek literature, or the joint edition can have had very little vogue. But all the manuscripts save A go back to an archetype, called x' by Nietzsche, which can be proved to have differed from A so little that their relationship cannot be remote; Nietzsche in fact makes x' and A both direct copies of a manuscript which he calls x. Did x contain the second book or not? If it did, then the joint edition is the only edition which we can trace back beyond the ninth century of our era or thereabouts, and it is very strange that Greek literature should ignore the second book as it does; if it did not, the conjunction of the two books must have been made for the first time by A or some near ancestor of A.

"Il ne faut d'ailleurs pas croire que les éloges des Platon<sup>1</sup> et des Isocrate<sup>2</sup> sur la noblesse des enseignements moraux de Théognis soit inconciliable avec l'existence d'un certain nombre d'élégies d'un caractère différent. Platon lui-même est parfois bien étrange, et Pindare, malgré la hauteur ordinaire de son inspiration, avait écrit des poèmes qui répondaient mal à l'idée qu'on se fait en général de sa gravité. Il en est de même de Solon."

Plato has nothing which can be called an "éloge" of Theognis<sup>3</sup>. As for Isocrates, it was shewn above that his language is compatible with a knowledge of the first book as we have it. Would he have said what he did if he had known the second book also? We have seen reason to suppose that the second book existed for some time apart from the first. Quite possibly this separation dates from the time of Theognis himself; he may have published one collection before the other, and the two may never have been joined. Under the

<sup>1</sup> *Lois* i., p. 630 A.

<sup>2</sup> *Nicoctes*, 12 (a mistake no doubt for *ad Nicoclem*, 43).

<sup>3</sup> In the passage of the *Laws* he merely prefers the sentiment of 77—8 to that of some lines of Tyrtaeus; and 77—8 imply in their author nothing better than worldly wisdom. Can it be that Croiset imagines τοῦτον δὲ φάμεν κ.τ.λ. to refer to Theognis? Of course it refers to the man who is faithful in grievous dissension.

conditions of his age and the centuries that followed such a division would be likely to last, since after the author's first issue the production of further copies, in the absence of copyright, was in the hands of *ὁ τυχών*<sup>1</sup>. Thus it may well be that in the time of Isocrates no manuscript contained both books. And no doubt the texts of the first book were much more numerous than those of the second; for the latter may have had only a small public, while the former possessed everything requisite for popularity, containing as it does much that is good and useful well expressed. Hence it is possible that in the fourth century the *Μοῦσα παιδική* was extant and recognised as the work of Theognis, yet unknown to Isocrates. But even if he had known it, and known it as the work of Theognis, it does not follow that he would have taken a worse view of the value of the first book. The character of the second book is not repugnant to the spirit of its time, and the moralist did not feel himself bound to practise what he preached. Nor does Theognis ever take a lofty tone; his teaching has nothing ideal about it; it is the practical wisdom of the man of the world. Add that the *Μοῦσα παιδική* is comparatively short, and we need not wonder that it did not much influence Isocrates' opinion of Theognis. Probably it did not weigh with him more than Tennyson's dramatic or Shakespeare's non-dramatic poetry weighs with us when we speak of Tennyson or Shakespeare in general terms.

On the other hand it is hard to agree with Croiset in thinking that Isocrates would have overlooked the improprieties of Theognis if they had been bound up with the first book. Then none of the reasons suggested above would have been present to lessen their effect. Rather it would have been increased by contrast.

Croiset proceeds: "Ce qui est évident, c'est que ce genre de vers, à l'origine, n'a nullement pu former un second livre distinct, comme le manuscrit le ferait croire: ils devaient être répandus dans des élégies variées; le collectionneur mal

<sup>1</sup> Though lines 19—26 do not prove it, I see no reason to doubt that Theognis published the first book—issued several or many copies of his own manuscript.

inspiré qui les a ainsi recueillis et rapprochés les a par là même rendus plus choquants."

The negative proposition of the first sentence is hard to refute but harder to establish, and Croiset does not attempt to establish it. We have seen already that, except for accidental loss, the *Μοῦσα παιδική* may be divided throughout into whole poems, each complete in itself. In no case are we even required to suppose a use of connecting particles similar to their use in oracles and drinking-songs. Moreover the majority of the poems contain an address—ὦ παῖ, ὦ καλὲ παῖ, and the like. This is a strong reason for believing the poems to be complete and not fragmentary, since it cannot be supposed for a moment that in long elegies Theognis repeated the address with such intolerable frequency that short fragments chosen from them would contain the address more often than not.

After recognizing the presence in the book of parodies and of lines by other poets, Croiset says in conclusion : "Mais il est probable que, dans cette partie du recueil, comme dans le reste, la plupart des vers sont de Théognis. D'où viennent-ils, en effet, s'ils ne sont pas de lui, et pourquoi les a-t-on ainsi rattachés aux Sentences du poète de Mégare? On a proposé sur ce point toutes sortes d'hypothèses; mais ce qu'on ne peut nier, c'est que beaucoup d'entre eux, à ne considérer que le style et la versification, aient tout à fait l'air d'être authentiques. Il faut donc supposer que le faussaire (placé par les uns au vi<sup>e</sup> siècle avant Jésus-Christ, par les autres dans la période Byzantine !) avait merveilleusement réussi, dans un grand nombre de cas, à imiter la manière du poète auquel il voulait prêter ses propres inventions, et qu'en outre il avait eu la bizarre idée d'attacher cette sorte d'appendice au recueil le moins fait pour l'appeler. Il est plus simple d'admettre que Théognis, en morale comme à tous égards, était de son temps et de son pays, et que cet épilogue suspect présente à peu près la même proportion de vers authentiques que le reste du recueil. Ajoutons tout de suite, pour n'y plus revenir, que si le fond des choses y est ce qu'on sait, l'expression pourtant y reste plus mesurée et plus

chaste qu'elle ne l'est parfois chez les poètes grecs dont la réputation est le moins suspecte."

The supposed forger has been successful not only in a large number of cases but in all cases; at least it has still to be proved that any poem in the book is such as Theognis could not have written. Otherwise Croiset's verdict is very like that to which our enquiry points.

An interesting proof of the antiquity of one couplet in the second book came to light less than twenty years ago<sup>1</sup>. It is contained in a red-figured drinking-bowl, "one of the treasures of pottery," says U. Köhler<sup>2</sup>, "which the tombs of Tanagra have been yielding for years without cease." On the inner base of the bowl is a picture of a man reclining as at a banquet. His head is thrown back, his mouth is wide open, and his eyes are fixed on the distance. In one hand he holds a *κρόταλον*. From his mouth issues the legend ὦ παίδων κάλλιστε. "If I am not mistaken," says Köhler, "the bowl bears the stamp of an Attic workshop." As for its date, he would rather put it in the beginning than in the middle of the fifth century before Christ.

ὦ παίδων κάλλιστε, which must be the beginning of a hexameter, occurs nowhere in Greek poetry of suitable date save in line 1365 of the *Μοῦσα παιδική*:

ὦ παίδων κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέστατε πάντων,  
στῆθ' αὐτοῦ καί μου παῦρ' ἐπάκουσον ἔπη.

As Küllenberg has observed<sup>3</sup>, the application of the epithets *κάλλιστος* καὶ *ἡμεροέστατος* to a beautiful boy is borrowed from the cyclic *Oedipody*:

ἀλλ' ἔτι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἡμεροέστατον ἄλλων  
παῖδα φίλον Κρέιοντος ἀμύμονος Αἴμονα δῖον.

<sup>1</sup> Another point may be noticed in passing. 1347—50, which tell of the seizure of Ganymede by Zeus, do not mention the eagle of the later legend. J. Lucas (*Studia Theognidea*, p. 39) shews that the eagle does not appear before the fourth century, and that from that time onwards it is never absent from the story. This gives a presumption that 1347—50 belong to an earlier date.

<sup>2</sup> *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Institutes zu Athen*, ix. (1884), pp. 1—4. From Köhler's article and the plate attached to it my description of the bowl is taken.

<sup>3</sup> P. 23.

In 1117 of Theognis the same words are applied ironically to the god of wealth, who cuts a very different figure in Aristophanes:

Πλοῦτε, θεῶν κάλλιστε καὶ ἰμεροέστατε πάντων,  
σὺν σοὶ καὶ κακὸς ὧν γίνεται ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ.

It is clear, as Reitzenstein says, that while the application of these epithets to Ploutos may come from their application to beautiful boys, the latter cannot come from the former. Thus we need not listen to those who call 1365 an imitation—some have even said a parody—of 1117. On the other hand it would be rash, in view of the line in the cyclic *Oedipody*, to say that 1117 presupposes the existence of 1365; the one has no necessary connexion with the other.

The words ὦ παίδων κάλλιστε are such as any erotic poet might have written, but the fact remains that to the best of our knowledge no poet did write them before the time of the bowl except the author of line 1365. There is thus a strong presumption that the song which the man is singing is the same of which 1365—6 are the beginning and perhaps 1365—72 the whole<sup>1</sup>. This fixes the date of 1365 as probably not later than the beginning of the fifth century, just the time, as will be shewn later, when Theognis was alive and at work.

The places too are instructive, though their significance seems to have been missed. The bowl was found at Tanagra; its workmanship resembles that of Athens, not much over twenty miles from Tanagra as the crow flies. In our collection are poems addressed to a Simonides and to an Onomacritus, perhaps the same as the poets who are known to have spent many years in Athens at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century; and one of those which are addressed to Simonides seems to imply personal contact between him and the writer. Tanagra again lay on the way from Megara, and perhaps also from Athens, to Aulis, the

<sup>1</sup> See Lucas, p. 41. Lucas thinks that the bowl may be as old as the end of the sixth century; and he argues that the position of the genitive before the vocative implies that what the man is singing is poetry, not prose.

best port for Euboea, and the only port for Chalcis; we know from 784 that Theognis visited Euboea, and it will be shewn below that there is very good reason to believe that he visited either Eretria or Chalcis. Moreover we are so fortunate as to have proof that a connexion existed between Megara and Tanagra not very long before the date of the bowl, for about the year 550 the two cities joined in founding Heraclea on the Pontus<sup>1</sup>.

Though none of these facts amounts to much alone, taken together they make it quite possible that 1365 was written by Theognis.

Inscriptions will yield another indication, this also hitherto unnoticed, of a connexion between Tanagra and Theognis. The persons whom Theognis mentions or addresses are Kynos son of Polypaos, Simonides, Onomakritos, Klearistos, Skythes, Theotimos, Demokles, Akademos, Timagoras, Demonax, Argyris. In this list are several rare names. Search for Akademos yielded only three examples: one from an Attic inscription<sup>2</sup> of the form Ἀκάδημος, one from an inscription of Larisa<sup>3</sup> of the form Φεκέδαμος, and one from a tombstone of Tanagra<sup>4</sup> which has the legend ΕΠΙΓΗΚΑΔΑΜΟΕΕΜΙ. Klearistos again is far from common. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* gives no example of the masculine name,

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias v. 26. 7: ἡ δὲ Ἡράκλεια πεποδίσταται μὲν ἐπὶ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, ἀπὸ κίστη δὲ ἐκ Μεγάρων· μετέσχον δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν Ταναγραῖοι τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ. Justin (xvi. 3) has a different story. He says that the Boeotians, seeking relief from a plague, were instructed by the Delphic oracle to found in the region of Pontus a city sacred to Hercules. The distance deterred them; but being hard pressed by the Phocians in war they applied again to Delphi, and the god repeated his command. They then sent out a band of colonists and founded Heraclea. This account may perhaps be true as far as it goes. Megara had a large trade with the Pontic regions; the Boeotians on the other hand were no seafarers; and it is easy to see why they joined forces with their seafaring neighbours in founding so distant a colony. It is quite possible that for some reason or other Tanagra supplied the whole or the chief part of the Boeotian contingent.

Strabo (xii. p. 542) makes the mistake of calling Heraclea Pontica a colony from Miletus.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, ii. no. 329, Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, no. 115. Böckh dates it after olympiad 123. 2.

<sup>3</sup> H. Collitz's *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, no. 344.

<sup>4</sup> Dittenberger's *Inscriptiones Graecae Megaridis Oropiae Boeotiae*, no. 593; Collitz, no. 876.



though the feminine Κλεαρίστη occurs thrice between the archonship of Euclides and the time of Augustus, and twice in the Roman period. But an inscription from Chalcis<sup>1</sup> in a list of men's names has ΚΛΕΑΡ, which may be the beginning of Κλεάριστος. In the inscriptions of Boeotia and Oropus, again, Κλεάριστος and Κλεαρίστη are not rare. The feminine is found at Oropus<sup>2</sup>. The masculine appears in an inscription from Orchomenus of the end of the third century B.C.<sup>3</sup>, in a Theban inscription belonging perhaps to the second century of our era<sup>4</sup>, and in two inscriptions from Tanagra<sup>5</sup>. The rareness of these two names gives importance to the fact that both are found at Tanagra and in its neighbourhood. Greek names tended to recur in the same families, so that it is possible that in the time of Theognis Tanagra contained both an Akademos and a Klearistos.

The very rare name Argyris is found in an inscription from Oropus<sup>6</sup>, the date of which is about 200 B.C., as well as in an inscription from Thera<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Roehl's *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*, no. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Dittenberger, no. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger, no. 3179.

<sup>4</sup> Dittenberger, no. 2245.

<sup>5</sup> Dittenberger, nos. 1145 and 1552. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Peloponnesi et Insularum Vicinarum* gives Κλεαρίστη from Epidaurus (fourth or third century), and Κλεάριστος, as the name of a Phliasian, from Hermione (third century).

<sup>6</sup> Roehl, no. 3498.

<sup>7</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Maris Aegaei*, fasc. iii. no. 837. There is no other example in this collection, in Roehl, in the *Inscriptiones Graeciae Septentrionalis*, or in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* down to the time of Augustus.

The name Σκόθης occurs in no. 1037 of the *C.I.A.*; a post-Euclidean inscription, but I can find no conjecture of its date. On the other hand two persons of this name figure in the events of Theognis' time. One is the father of the enlightened tyrant of Cos, the Cadmus who afterwards settled at Zancle in 494, and was despatched by Gelon to Delphi in 480 (Herodotus vii. 163—4; E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, ii. pp. 110—1, 182—3); the other is the unfortunate king of Zancle who lost his city in 494 (Herodotus vi. 23, Freeman ii. p. 109 ff.). Of these the second at least can hardly be the man to whom Theognis writes, but it is interesting to find that the name was not very uncommon in his day. A Spartan named Σκόθης is mentioned by Xenophon, *Hellenica* iii. 4. 20. Thus all the attempts which have been made to emend or explain away the name Σκόθα in 829 are superfluous; they seem to rest on the assumption that Σκόθης is not a name which a Greek could have borne.

These facts are not without importance in view of 1209—10:

Αἶθων μὲν γένος εἰμί, πόλιν δ' εὐτείχεα Θήβην  
οἰκῶ, πατρώας γῆς ἀπερυκόμενος.

Notice that Ἄργυρι comes in the very next poem, in 1211.

The subject of names leads us to consider the only two poems in the second book which address living men by name. 1345—50 are a defence of παιδεραστία addressed to Simonides; they are like the rest of the second book in all except their address. With 1353—6 the case is different:

πικρὸς καὶ γλυκὺς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀρπαλέος καὶ ἀπηνής,  
ὄφρα τέλειος ἔη, Κύρνε, νέοισιν ἔρως.  
ἦν μὲν γὰρ τελέση, γλυκὺ γίνεται· ἦν δὲ διώκων  
μὴ τελέση, πάντων τοῦτ' ἀνιηρότατον.

νέοισιν ἔρως cannot mean παιδεραστία; it must mean the love that young men feel. Thus these lines are not strictly in keeping with the character of Μοῦσα παιδική. Perhaps they belong to the lost end of the first book; some scribe may have come across them quoted elsewhere, assumed from the word ἔρως that they belonged to the second book, and so inserted them here. It is just possible, however, that Theognis wished by the inclusion of this poem to set his seal on the second book as by lines 19—26 he set it on the first. If his fame was not yet established when he gathered his amatory poems together, modesty, helped perhaps by some measure of shame, may have prevented him from thrusting his name and city on the reader's notice as he did in the preface of the first book; while some of his gnomic poems may have been well enough known to ensure that Κύρνε would be taken as a mark of his hand. The same purpose would be served by the address to Simonides in 1349, for to Simonides are addressed two long poems in the first book. Then 1351—2, which resemble the rest of the collection in address but not in spirit, may have been meant to pave the way for the gnomic poem addressed to Cyrnus. For 1353—6 are gnomic, not erotic; and if Theognis chose for his σφρηγὶς a gnome on love, it was because the collection is dedicated to the deities of love.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THEOGNIS.

#### I. *The Birthplace of Theognis.*

IN a passage of Plato's *Laws*<sup>1</sup> Theognis is described as a citizen of Megara in Sicily, but Didymus and others made him a native of the Nisaeon Megara. Harpocration, after mentioning the Theognis who was one of the Thirty Tyrants, proceeds: τοῦ δὲ ποιητοῦ Θεόγνιδος μνημονεύει Ἰσοκράτης ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Νικοκλέα ὑποθήκαις· οὗτος δ' ἦν Μεγαρεὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ Μεγάρων· αὐτὸς γὰρ φησιν ὁ ποιητής·

ἦλθον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ποτε γαῖαν.

ὧ μὴ ἐπιστήσας Πλάτων ἐν α' Νόμων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πολίτην ἔφασκεν εἰς Σικελίαν. κατηκολούθησαν δὲ τῷ Πλάτῳ οὐκ ὀλίγοι<sup>2</sup>. Similarly the scholiast on the passage of the *Laws*: περὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίας ἀμφιβολία πολλὴ ἐγίγνετο τοῖς παλαιοῖς· καὶ οἱ μὲν φασιν αὐτὸν ἐκ Μεγαρέων γεγενῆσθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς· οὕτως ὁ Δίδυμος, ἐπιφυόμενος τῷ Πλάτῳ ὡς παριστοροῦντι· οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐκ Σικελίας<sup>3</sup>.

Modern scholars for the most part agree with Didymus, and there can be little doubt that they are right; but there should be equally little doubt that Welcker is wrong in supporting this opinion by the inference which he draws from the

<sup>1</sup> i. p. 630 A: πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων.

<sup>2</sup> Could Harpocration have written πολίτην ἔφασκεν thus with ellipse of an infinitive? No reason appears why the words εἰς Σικελίαν should have been inserted. More probably something has fallen out after ἔφασκεν. Perhaps Harpocration suggested somehow what the Platonic scholiast suggests, that Theognis was born in the Nisaeon Megara but emigrated to the Sicilian; and of this the last words only, εἰς Σικελίαν, have survived.

<sup>3</sup> With Didymus agrees the epitome of Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Μέγαρα.

passage of the *Laws*. "Platonem enim," he says<sup>1</sup>, "in Attica poetam natum novisse, ipsis Atheniensis, qui loquitur, verbis declaratur: ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρα ἔχομεν Θεόγνιν." A look at the context will shew that this inference is false. The Athenian had brought forward some lines of Tyrtaeus in which the poet praises a certain kind of courage; and after some discussion, in which Clinias the Cretan accepts his views, he proceeds to compare with this kind of courage another kind which is praised by Theognis:—ἡμεῖς δὲ γε ἀγαθῶν ὄντων τούτων ἔτι φάμεν ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ πολέμῳ γιγνομένους ἀρίστους διαφανῶς. ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρα ἔχομεν, Θεόγνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων. The words must be given their natural meaning: "we too have a poet for witness on our side, namely Theognis." Welcker would give πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων a concessive force; but if Plato had meant what Welcker takes him to mean, he would certainly have said something like τὸν Μεγαρέων μὲν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολίτην γενόμενον φύσει δὲ Ἀττικόν, the converse of his description of Tyrtaeus shortly before: τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον τῶνδε δὲ (the Lacedaemonians) πολίτην γενόμενον. However, even after Welcker has forced Plato's words into the meaning which suits his purpose, his argument is still worthless. The Megarid and Attica are not synonymous terms; and an Athenian would no more speak of a Megarian as a fellow-countryman in contrast with a man born in Attica who had become a citizen of Sparta, than a German would speak of a Frenchman as a fellow-countryman in contrast with a man German by birth who had become a subject of Spain<sup>2</sup>.

But this is not to say that Theognis was not *for a time* a citizen of Megara Hyblaea. The words of Plato prove that he was. Nothing is more likely than that a native of the mother-city, having reason to quit it, should make himself a citizen of the colony<sup>3</sup>. If he had done that, Theognis would

<sup>1</sup> P. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hiller, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 459.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. ap. Geel. p. 226 on Plato p. 630: τί δὲ ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν ἐκ ταύτης μὲν εἶναι τῆς Μεγαρίδος, ἀπελθόντα δὲ εἰς Σικελίαν, ὡς ἡ ἱστορία ἔχει, γενέσθαι νόμῳ

have been called Μεγαρεὺς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ οἱ πολίτης τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων. This accounts for the mistake of Plato, who tells not an untruth but only part of the truth.

Recently however two scholars have departed from the view that Theognis came from the Nisaeon Megara. G. F. Unger<sup>1</sup> observes that the evidence which Harpocration and the Platonic scholiast give for the Nisaeon Megara is only negative. Why, he asks, did they not argue from 773—82, where the poet calls the city of Alcathous ἡμετέρην πόλιν? He suggests that it may have been because not only citizens of the city but also resident aliens might have spoken thus, and none more readily than a travelling singer whose livelihood depended on the welfare of the rich and prominent citizens, his patrons. He thinks that Theognis has done the same thing in 39—40 also—

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἦδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκη ἄνδρα  
εὐθυντήρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης—

wrongly inferring from 1103—4 (which were explained above) that Cynos was not of the same country as Theognis. Cynos, Simonides, Clearchus, Democles, Academicus, Timagoras, Demonax, he imagines, were the poet's patrons, leading men in the cities which he visited. But could the language of the poems to Cynos, Simonides, Clearchus, Academicus, Demonax have been addressed by a paid poet to his employers? If so, his tone is passing strange. He quarrels with Cynos; he advises Simonides how to behave in company; he speaks to Clearchus as one poor man to another; he makes light of Academicus' accomplishments; he insults Demonax. Contrast the language of Pindar and Bacchylides. The travelling poet must avoid controversy, as they do<sup>2</sup>; he is not the mouthpiece of bitter party-feeling, as Theognis is.

Μεγαρέα ἐκεῖ, ὡς καὶ τὸν Τυρραῖον Λακεδαιμόνιον; Similarly Herodotus became a citizen of Thurii, and must have been described as such in some copies of his history, for Aristotle quotes the first words of it thus: 'Ἡροδότου Θουρπίου ἥδ' ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις.

<sup>1</sup> *Die heimat des Theognis*, in *Philologus* xlv. pp. 18—33.

<sup>2</sup> See how circumspect Pindar is in *Pythian* iv. 271, an exception which proves the rule.

Unger goes on to suggest that the proof that Theognis was not a citizen of the Nisaeon Megara was something which stood in the form of Theognis that Plato knew, but not in the form that Didymus knew. For this there is no evidence. It is far more likely that Plato has made a mistake, perhaps due to his visits to Sicily, where Theognis was doubtless claimed as a fellow-citizen by the men of Megara Hyblaea, who may have explained ἤλθον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ εἰς Σικελίην ποτε γαῖαν as referring to the land of the Sikels. Perhaps they appealed also to the "elegy on the Syracusans who were saved in the siege," which Theognis wrote in Sicily, no doubt, whether he was a native of Sicily or not<sup>1</sup>. It is very probable that in Sicily Theognis was considered a native of Megara Hyblaea who spent part of his life in Megara Nisaea; in the Megarid of the Isthmus, a native of Megara Nisaea who spent part of his life in Megara Hyblaea. There was another such dispute between the two cities for the honour of having given birth to comedy<sup>2</sup>. And though the argument of Didymus which has come down to us is negative, if we knew his discussion of the matter at first hand we should find perhaps that he supported this argument with others based on 11—12, 764, 773—88, while at the same time he confessed that these lines might be the work of a native of the Hyblaeon Megara resident in the Nisaeon. At least he cannot have overlooked πάτρης in 788, which is not mentioned by Harpocration.

Nevertheless, says Unger, Theognis cannot have been a Sikeliot, for the character of 783—8 shews that Σικελίην γαῖαν must refer to the Greek cities of Sicily and not to the parts of the Sikels, which he would never have put in the same class with Euboea and Sparta. We must therefore look for a third Megara.

Under the word Μέγαρα Stephanus of Byzantium mentions the Nisaeon Megara and proceeds thus: ἔστι καὶ Μέγαρα<sup>3</sup> ἐν Θερραλίᾳ. τρίτη ἐν Πόντῳ. τετάρτη ἐν Ἰλλυρίδι.

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein (p. 172) goes so far as to suggest that this elegy was a forgery of the Sicilian Megarians, designed to establish their claim to Theognis.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, chapter iii.

<sup>3</sup> β' is an easy emendation of καλ. β and κ are often confused in minuscule script.

πέμπτη ἐν Μολοσσίδι. ἕκτη ἐν Σικελίᾳ. The Pontic Megara is probably the Bithynian place Μεγαρικόν. The three which remain are probably one and the same, for Stephanus often makes several places out of one place variously described, and the borders of Thessaly, Macedonia and Molossis were often confused or vague. Unger shews that this Megara is the place which in the year 317 belonged to Macedonia. It was probably in the territory of the Aithikes, whom a scholiast mentions among the Aeolian races; their ancestor Aithix was the son of Ianos, who is called by Plutarch Ἕλληνα ἐκ Περραιβίας. In this Megara, according to Unger, Theognis was born.

This enables him to offer an explanation of 1209—10:

Αἰθων μὲν γένος εἰμί, πόλιν δ' εὐτείχεα Θήβην  
οἰκῶ, πατρῴας γῆς ἀπερυκόμενος.

γένος εἰμί is mostly used with a genitive. In Cramer's *Anecdota*, iv. 97, are the words: Αἶθες καὶ Ἄινες, ἐθνικά<sup>1</sup>. Unger reads Αἰθες and Αἶνες, and thinks the latter a short form for Αἰνιᾶνες, the former for Αἰθίκες. For the termination -ικες he quotes Θρήικες; Γραῖικες compared with Γραῖι; Κίλικες, which the ancients connected with Κίλλα; Τέμμικες. He would therefore adopt Bergk's conjecture Αἰθῶν or Αἰθέων in 1209.

He also explains 1213—6 in accordance with this theory:—

ἡμῖν δ' ἄλλα μὲν ἐστί, γύναι, κακὰ πόλλ', ἐπεὶ ἐκ γῆς  
φεύγομεν, ἀργαλέη δ' οὐκ ἔπι δουλοσύνη,  
οὐδ' ἡμᾶς περνᾶσι· πόλις γε μὲν ἐστί καὶ ἡμῖν  
καλὴ, Ληθαίῳ κεκλιμένη πεδίῳ.

Strabo mentions a river Ληθαῖος, ὁ περὶ Τρίκκην, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς γεννηθῆναι λέγεται. The Aithikes bordered on Triikka. "Thus," says Unger, "the cradle of Theognis stood on consecrated ground, whence the cult of a Greek god had sprung."

To the Macedonian Megara he refers also the famous oracle:

<sup>1</sup> Both these ἐθνικά are mentioned by Suidas also.

γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄργος ἄμεινον,  
ἵπποι Θρηίκιαι, Λακεδαιμόνιαι δὲ γυναῖκες,  
ἄνδρες δ' οἱ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καλῆς Ἀρεθούσης·  
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶνδ' εἰσὶν ἁμείνονες, οἳ τε μεσηγὺ  
Τίρυνθος ναίουσι καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου,  
Ἀργεῖοι λινοθώρηκες, κέντρα πτολέμοιο.  
ὕμεις δ', ὦ Μεγαρήs, οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι  
οὔτε δυωδέκατοι οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

Clement of Alexandria ascribes the last two lines to Theognis<sup>1</sup>, but everywhere else the poem is spoken of as an oracle. Perhaps Clement assigned them to our poet for no better reason than that they are addressed to the Megarians. But it seems possible to discern a reason for following Clement in this matter. In the last verse but one *Αἰγίεες* often appears instead of *Μεγαρήs*. These were Achaeans of Aigion, opposite the Ozolian Locrians. Unger maintains that the only occasion which could have produced an application from the men of Aigion to Delphi and this the god's answer was in the time of the Achaean league, perhaps about 217 B.C., when the Achaeans defeated the Aetolians at sea<sup>2</sup>. But the lines are older than this, for they are clearly referred to by Theocritus<sup>3</sup>:

ἀμὲς δ' οὔτε λόγῳ τινὸς ἄξιοι οὔτ' ἀριθμητοί,  
δύστηνοι Μεγαρήs ἀτιμοτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ—

and by Callimachus<sup>4</sup>:

τῆs δὲ ταλαίνης  
νύμφης, ὡς Μεγαρέων, οὐ λόγος οὐδ' ἀριθμός.

The question then is this: was it an old oracle or a poem of

<sup>1</sup> *Σπρωματεῖς*, vii. § 110: ὕμεις δ', ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, φησὶν ὁ Θεόγνις, οὔτε τρίτοι κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> In E. Miller's *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque*, p. 361, is this note: *Αἰγίεες* οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι...ἔτι γὰρ τούτοις ἐχρήσθη καὶ οὐ Μεγαρεῖσιν, καὶ Ἰων μέμνηται ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σκυθιάδην ἐγκωμίῳ. Unger thinks that the author of this otherwise unknown work was not the tragedian Ion of Chios but some later writer; and in proof of this he observes that Photius and Suidas give Ion as their *second* authority only, Mnaseas as their first. There is no evidence for ascribing it to Ion of Chios. Reitzenstein however (p. 54, n. 2) thinks that Ion takes second place only because he merely mentioned the oracle, while Mnaseas discussed it.

<sup>3</sup> xiv. 48—9.

<sup>4</sup> Epigram 26.



Theognis that the authorities of Delphi remodelled in 217? All except Clement who mention the Megarian version regard it as an oracle, but that may be due to confusion with the other version. It has been shewn above that the passage of the *Meno* implies that Theognis used other metres besides the elegiac. If this poem in its original form was really written by Theognis, it is the only fragment of these non-elegiac poems that survives. If it was not written by Theognis, why should Clement have ascribed it to him? The reason suggested above, that he was led to do so merely by the word *Μεγαρήν*, is not at all satisfactory, for the careless observer would naturally assign such a poem to any one rather than a Megarian. No careful observer, however, would venture to assert that such contempt for his native city could not have been felt and uttered by Theognis at some period or other of his life<sup>1</sup>.

Unger puts the date of the earlier version in the middle or the second half of the seventh century, since the prestige of Argos became inferior to that of Sparta soon after, and the men of Chalcis, "the men who drink the water of beautiful Arethusa,"<sup>2</sup> could not have been called bravest after the Athenian invasion of Euboea in 506. But the poem calls the men of Chalcis *best*, not bravest; ἀμεινον and ἀμεινονες must have their least particular meaning, for they are applied to land and horses and women as well as men. κέντρα πολέμοιο does not mark the only quality, but one of the qualities, wherein the superiority of the men of Argos lay. On what grounds the god or the poet thus honoured Chalcis and Argos we do not know.

To return to the question of the Megaras, Unger argues that the oracle must have intended this snub for the Macedonian Megara, since in the seventh century the city on the

<sup>1</sup> Reitzenstein (p. 54, n. 2) ascribes the lines to Theognis, but thinks them a remodelling of the oracle, not the oracle of them. He thinks the metrical fault of *Αἰγίης* a mark of antiquity. But he does not suggest any occasion before Theognis' time when the men of Aigion could have laid themselves open to such a rebuke.

<sup>2</sup> In Sicily no doubt this was referred to the Syracusans, since Syracuse also had an Arethusa, the most famous of the fountains of that name.

Isthmus was flourishing, engaged in founding important colonies, and under Theagenes strong enough to hold its own against Athens; and as late as the time of the Persian wars it sent the third largest contingent to Salamis and the fourth largest to Plataea.

That is the case for the Macedonian Megara. To begin with the last point, the very importance of the city on the Isthmus and the utter insignificance of the village in Macedonia make it certain that the former was the place against which the poem was aimed. It would have done the Macedonian Megara too much honour even to mention it in the same breath with Chalcis or Sparta or Argos. In order to insult a small place one must compare it unfavourably with small places. The insult could not have been weaker if, say, Seriphos had been thus compared with Sicily; and Seriphos was at least a recognised member of the Hellenic world, the Macedonian Megara was apparently not. Proportion must be observed in abuse as in compliment.

Unger's other arguments have been answered briefly by J. Beloch<sup>1</sup>, who remarks that if Theognis had come from the Macedonian Megara he would have been known to Greece not as *Μεγαρεύς* but as *Τύμπαιος*—not by a village-name (there were no cities in his time in the inland parts of Macedonia and Epiros) but by a tribe-name; that Macedonia, Epiros and inland Thessaly played no productive part in Greek literature during the sixth or even the fifth century; that the old kingship of heroic times survived in Macedonia and Epiros until the third or second century, and even in Thessaly tyrants did not arise until the end of the fifth, whereas Theognis lived in a republic which was in danger of a tyrant; and that many poems shew Theognis playing a part in affairs which no *μέτοικος* or enfranchised alien could have played. To the inference which Unger draws from 1103—4 Beloch replies that Theognis uses the second person, *ὕμμε*, because he has no share in the *ὑβρις* which he denounces; but more probably, as we saw above, *ὕμμε* is not a plural but

<sup>1</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1888, pp. 729—33 (for the criticism of Unger see the first footnote); *Rheinisches Museum*, 1895, pp. 250—5.

a dual, or at least a plural used of two persons only, Cynrus and his new friend.

Beloch, however, misses the chief strength of Unger's theory, the explanations of Αἶθων and Ληθαίῳ πεδίῳ which it seems to supply. But this strength is rather apparent than real. The explanation of Αἶθων depends firstly on a conjectural alteration of the text (a slight alteration, it is true), and secondly on a conjectural identification of Αἶθες and Αἶθικες; and moreover the use of the genitive with γένος in this way is perhaps doubtful<sup>1</sup>. The explanation of Ληθαίῳ accounts for a Ληθαῖος ποταμός but not for a Λήθαιον (or Ληθαῖον) πεδίον. If the river was called Ληθαῖος, the name of a neighbouring plain would naturally be expressed by a genitive, or by an adjective formed from Ληθαῖος—by Ληθαίου πεδίον like Καῦστρου πεδίον, or by Ληθαϊκὸν πεδίον like πεδίον Ληλάντιον. Nor is there any trace of a place called Thebe near this Lethaios.

With Unger's theory we discard perhaps the most plausible explanation of these two difficult passages. Probably they are of the nature of riddles, and it is hard to solve riddles at a distance of more than two thousand years. But there is still room for guesswork.

If 1209—10 are a complete poem as they stand, they must surely mean more than appears on the surface. If they had been a plain and straightforward description of the poet's circumstances, they would have had very little point. But Theognis lived in a riddling age, and there are other riddles among his poems. Some one has suggested that Αἶθων may contain a reference to a passage of the *Odyssey*<sup>2</sup> where Odysseus, who is in disguise, gives himself this name in answer to Penelope's questions: ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἶθων.

<sup>1</sup> Unger says that the genitive is the commonest construction, and compares θεὸν γένος εἰμί in Homer, γένος μὲν εἰμί τῆς περιρρύτου Σκύρου in Sophocles. But there no case save the genitive could have been used. Adjectives denoting nationality are commonly put in the nominative, with γένος in the accusative. So in Pisander's epigram (Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* ii. p. 24), Μάγνης γένος; Aeschylus, *Supplices* 274, Ἀργεῖαι γένος ἐευχόμεσθα; Aristophanes, *Birds* 1700, βάρβαροι δ' εἰσιν γένος; Herodotus i. 6, Λυδὸς μὲν γένος; etc.

<sup>2</sup> xix. 183.

It was the name of the grandfather of Mestra, the wife of Autolycus. If that is the place whence Theognis got the word, the meaning must have been something like this: "I am an Incognito by race, and I dwell in the well-walled city of Thebe, being banished from my fatherland." The puzzle would then be to discover the author of the couplet, a puzzle which would be solved of course when it was included in the collected poems of Theognis<sup>1</sup>. This seems to be the best explanation if *Αἰθων* is to be kept. But is it not possible that the first words of the hexameter contain a veiled allusion to the name *Θέογνις*, "god-born"? *αἰ θεῶν* would give the required sense; but *αἰ* seems to be used only in the double form *αἰαἰ*. To *ἄ θεῶν* there would be less objection. Perhaps Theognis wrote *λιεnewων*, forming from *αἰὲν ἔοντες* a nominative singular which had the look of a genitive plural. These suggestions are of course mere guesses, and any approach to certainty is beyond hope.

In 1211—6 there is better chance of success. The fact that there was a river Lethaios on which stood Gortyn caused Bergk formerly to ascribe the poem to Thaletas of Gortyn; while von Leutsch suggests ironically<sup>2</sup> that it may be by Epimenides, whose native town Phaistos stood on the same river. Bergk finally ascribed it to Anacreon, who spent some time in Magnesia, where was another Lethaios. But what we want is not a *Ληθαῖος ποταμός* but a *Ληθαῖον πεδῖον*. There is no trace of any plain but one which was so-called, and that was not in Magnesia or Crete or northern Greece, but in Hades. In the *Frogs*<sup>3</sup> Charon asks:

τίς εἰς ἀναπαύλας ἐκ κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων;

τίς εἰς τὸ Λήθης πεδῖον ἧ' ὅνους πόκας

ἧ' ὅς Κερβερίους ἧ' ὅς κόρακας ἧ' πλὶ Ταίναρον;

At the end of Plato's *Republic*<sup>4</sup> the souls which are on their

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps an accident that the first three words contain all the letters of *Μεγαρεύς*, the last two all the letters of *Θέογνις*.

<sup>2</sup> *Philologus* xxx. p. 672. "Ludens an serio nescio," says Bergk in his note on 1211—6. Certainly "ludens," and at Bergk's expense.

<sup>3</sup> 185—7.

<sup>4</sup> x. p. 621 A.

way back to earth cross τὸ τῆς Λήθης πεδίου, the Plain of Oblivion, and encamp παρὰ τὸν Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν, the River of Heedlessness, which seems to be the same as ὁ τῆς Λήθης ποταμός mentioned just after. Thus the Plain of Oblivion was adjacent to the River of Oblivion. What Theognis means is that the remedy for his citilessness is death<sup>1</sup>.

Beloch goes back to the opinion that Theognis was a native of the Hyblaeon Megara. He appeals to the circumstances of the two Megaras in 480 B.C., for he holds that this is the only date to which the poems that mention the Medes can be assigned. The revolution in the Nisaeon Megara, he says, was over in 480, and the tyrants of Corinth, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Megara had fallen long before. The Nisaeon Megara could not have been in fear of a tyrant while Sparta held suzerainty over the Peloponnese. In Sicily on the other hand tyranny was at its height in the early part of the fifth century, and revolution began at Syracuse about 490. Moreover lines 549—54 imply that the Megara to which Theognis belonged had cavalry:

ἄγγελος ἄφθογγος πόλεμον πολύδακρυν ἐγείρει,  
 Κύρν', ἀπὸ τηλαυγέος φαινόμενος σκοπιῆς.  
 ἀλλ' ἵπποις ἔμβαλλε ταχυπτέρνοισι χαλινούς·  
 δῆων γάρ σφ' ἀνδρῶν ἀντιάσειν δοκέω.  
 οὐ πολλὸν τὸ μεσηγύ· διαπρήξουσι κέλευθον,  
 εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι θεοί.

Now neither Megara nor any other city of the Peloponnese had cavalry before the Persian wars. Simonides speaks thus of the Megarians who fell at Plataea<sup>2</sup>:

τοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ, οἵτινες ἔτλαν  
 χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἵππομάχους ἰέναι.

Nor does Thucydides<sup>3</sup> mention Megara among the cities which furnished horse to the Spartan army in the Pelopon-

<sup>1</sup> According to the scholiast Didymus supposed that Aristophanes invented his *Λήθης πεδίον*:—τὸ δὲ Λήθης πεδίον, Δίδυμός φησι, χωρίον ἐν ἄδου τετύπωκεν. But since it appears in Plato also, probably both Aristophanes and Plato made use of a popular belief.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment 107.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 9. 3.

nesian war: *τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Κορίνθιοι, Μεγαρήs, Σικυνῶνιοι, Πελληνῆs, Ἡλεῖοι, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, ἱππέας δὲ Βοιωτοί, Φωκῆs, Λοκροί· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις πεζὸν παρείχον.* But in Sicily cavalry was common about 500.

It is true that the movements immediately connected with the reign of Theagenes were at an end in 480, and that Megara seems to have been quiet at the time of the Persian wars. But we know from Strabo that Megara "underwent many changes," and Theognis need not have *begun* to write in 480. Again, though Corinth, Sicyon and the rest were free from tyrants at the end of the sixth century, Athens at least was not. As for the influence of Sparta, Megara was on the very edge of Sparta's control, and we cannot say how much her hegemony would have demanded in particular cases; nor would she be able to prevent the *possibility* of a tyrant, which is all that Theognis implies.

As for the matter of cavalry, a careful examination of lines 549—54 may dispel this objection. Both the antecedent of *σφε* and the subject of *διαπρήξουσιν* are to be supplied from *ἵπποις*, and *διαπρήξουσιν κέλευθον* can only mean "they will win through." There is some race. What is the race, and what the situation? Warning of an enemy's approach<sup>1</sup> has been given by signal from a distant watch-tower or peak, and it is the business of Cynus and his comrades (who are implied in *ἵπποις ἔμβαλλε*, a combination of singular and plural with which compare "uestras, Eure, domos" and the rest) to carry this news on horseback to some persons and place unknown. In this task there is a danger that they may be intercepted. *ταχυπτέρνοισιν* is probably emphatic, *ἀλλὰ* is probably exhortatory as in 341. The poem may be translated thus: "A voiceless messenger arouses sorrowful war, Cynus, showing forth from a distant peak. Up then, thou and thy comrades, mount steeds, and see that they be swift, for methinks they will meet with foemen. Not long is the way between; they will win through, if the gods lead not

<sup>1</sup> Hiller (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 455) does not explain the poem, but suggests that it may refer to the Persian invasion of the Megarid (Herodotus ix. 14). But that is of course conjectural.

my judgment astray." In this translation the subject of *διαπρήξουσι* is taken to be ἵπποι; but it may be the party of riders. In that case they must be supposed to have started after line 552, and in the last couplet Theognis describes the suspense of their friends left behind, who are watching their progress perhaps from the walls. It would be rash to assert that Megara could not have had despatch-riders even when it had no cavalry.

For Beloch's purpose it is necessary to cut out lines 783—8, whose tone, he says, better fits a travelling singer than a political refugee. On the contrary, a travelling singer must flatter his patrons by silence if not by speech; he would be the last to speak thus. We do not find Pindar or Bacchylides saying: "I have visited Aegina, Corinth, Syracuse, and all gave me good welcome; but no pleasure came to my heart from them, so much dearer to me than all else was my fatherland."

Nothing has yet been said of 11—14. Since the last line is quoted with Theognis' name in the *Eudemian Ethics*<sup>1</sup>, and the second couplet is inseparable from the first, it is certain that the whole poem is the work of Theognis; and even Welcker did not banish it from the text<sup>2</sup>. Now Pausanias<sup>3</sup> mentions among the temples of the Nisaeon Megara Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων ἐποίησεν ἡνίκα ἦλθε Κάλχαντα οἰκοῦντα ἐν Μεγάρους ἐς Ἴλιον ἔπεσθαι πείσων. That the imperfect ἔπλεε can denote the *preparations* for the expedition needs no proof. Thus 11—14 are beyond all doubt a poem of the Nisaeon Megara<sup>4</sup>; and since eight lines later Theognis calls himself a Megarian, we naturally conclude that when he wrote 11—14 he was not only an inhabitant but a citizen of the Nisaeon Megara; for if (as we have seen reason to

<sup>1</sup> vii. ch. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Sitzler however knows no mercy. His treatment of this poem gives Reitzenstein "eine der vielen kleinen Freuden, welche sein Buch dem Leser bringt."

<sup>3</sup> i. 43. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Agamemnon set up another temple to Artemis at Amarynthus in Euboea (see O. Schneider's *Callimachea*, ii. p. 233, fragment 76); so that if those who assign 891—4 to an Euboean poet care to neglect the evidence of the *Eudemian Ethics*, it is open to them to refer 11—12 to the Euboean temple.

believe) the arrangement of the poems is due to the poet himself, had he belonged to the Hyblaeae Megara he would surely have avoided the inference which the neighbourhood of 11—14 and 19—26 suggests.

For these reasons Beloch's arguments cannot be held to outweigh the evidence of 11—14, 773—4 and 783—8.

## II. The Date of Theognis.

Eusebius<sup>1</sup> and Cyril<sup>2</sup> put the ἀκμή of Theognis in the fifty-eighth olympiad, Suidas<sup>3</sup> in the fifty-ninth, the *Chronicon Paschale*<sup>4</sup> in the fifty-seventh. How were these dates fixed? We have seen how Didymus settled the question of birthplace. Against a casual remark of Plato's he set the evidence of the poems themselves. But we hear of no such witness as Plato for the date. In fact, beyond that one sentence in the *Laws*, the Greek scholars would seem to have had no shred of evidence about Theognis except his poems and what his poems implied. But the fifty-eighth or fifty-ninth olympiad cannot have been chosen at random, and recently several writers have tried to discover the workings of the chronologists' minds.

Isocrates<sup>5</sup> couples Theognis with Phocylides; and if the two poets were regarded as contemporaries, the date of one

<sup>1</sup> Olympiad lviii. 1: Θέογνις ὁ ποιητὴς ἐγνωρίζετο: "was becoming known," "floruit."

<sup>2</sup> *Adversus Julianum*, i. p. 12: περτηκοστῇ ὀγδόῃ ὀλυμπιάδι Θέογνις ὁ ποιητὴς ὠνομάζετο, vii. p. 225: περτηκοστῇ καὶ ὀγδόῃ ὀλυμπιάδι Φωκυλίδης καὶ Θέογνις ἐγενέσθην.

<sup>3</sup> S.v. Θέογνις: γεγονώς ἐν τῇ νθ' ὀλυμπιάδι. S.v. Φωκυλίδης: Μιλήσιος φιλόσοφος, σύγχρονος Θεόγνιδος· ἦν δὲ ἐκάτερος μετὰ χμζ' ἔτη τῶν Τρωικῶν, γεγονότες ὀλυμπιάδι νθ'. On the meaning of γεγονώς and γέγονε in Suidas see a paper by E. Rohde in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxiii. pp. 161 ff. (reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, i. pp. 114 ff.). Rohde finds that out of 129 instances γέγονε certainly denotes the ἀκμή in 88, probably in 17; certainly denotes the date of birth in 6, perhaps in 4; there is nothing against the meaning ἡμαρταν in 9; decision is impossible in 5. He shews (p. 169, n. 6) that in Suidas' note on Phocylides ἦν and γεγονότες are parallel, so that γεγονότες must refer to the ἀκμή.

<sup>4</sup> Θέογνις ποιητὴς ἐγνωρίζετο.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad Nicoclem*, 43.



may have fixed the date of the other. Hiller<sup>1</sup> thinks that some poem of Phocylides may have referred to the conquest of Ionia by Harpagus in the fifty-ninth olympiad. But H. Flach<sup>2</sup> very justly observes that such a poem would certainly have survived. Much more probable is the view of Bergk<sup>3</sup>, who thinks that the Greek scholars referred lines 773—82 to the proceedings of Harpagus, the first occasion when Greeks were threatened by the power of the Medes. True enough, as Flach says, the reader's first thoughts assign the poem to the time of Darius or Xerxes. Certainly the modern reader's first thoughts do; yet Bergk and Flach assign it to the time of Harpagus; and a Didymus may have preferred his second thoughts as well as a Bergk. Moreover the Greek scholars loved to push back the dates of the old poets as far as they could<sup>4</sup>. They may have had other reasons also, such as a desire to reconcile the date of Theognis with the date of the Cypselids, if indeed they had *Κυψελιδέων* in their texts in 894.

Flach is for another explanation, which seems to be his own. He thinks that the fifty-eighth or fifty-ninth olympiad was chosen as the middle of the period of *στάσις* which began in Megara with the fall of Theagenes and ended with the final restoration of the aristocracy shortly before the Persian wars. Theagenes was driven out perhaps in 600 or 590<sup>5</sup>; the democracy was finally overthrown perhaps about 500; the middle of the period is therefore about 550 or 545, the fifty-seventh or fifty-eighth olympiad. But since both beginning and end are vague, the middle also must be vague. Why should the chronologists have chosen so rough a method when it was open to them to argue from lines 773—82? For they must have referred these lines either to the conquest of Asia Minor or to one of the invasions of Greece.

<sup>1</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik*, p. 390: "Wie oft würde ein auf jenes beklagenswerthe Ereigniss sich beziehender oder das rasende Unwetter ankündigender und warnender Vers von den Alten citirt worden sein!"

<sup>3</sup> *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, i. p. 301.

<sup>4</sup> The case of Thaletas is only one among many.

<sup>5</sup> Flach, p. 396, n. 4.

On the whole therefore it seems best to suppose with Bergk that the ἀκμή of Theognis was inferred from 773—82.

What Theognis really had in his mind when he wrote those lines is another question. The Persians appear twice only in Theognis, in two neighbouring poems. The first has been discussed already from another point of view. At first sight line 764, *μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δειδιώτεσ πόλεμον*, seems to shew that when Theognis wrote this poem his city, or the city wherein he was at the time, was in dread of the Persians. Flach however is of just the opposite opinion<sup>1</sup>. "The more observant reader must gather from 764, where Theognis acknowledges that he has no fear of the Persian war, that what is here meant is not the mighty and terrible expedition of Darius or Xerxes, but only the Persians' attack on the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. When therefore Schömann<sup>2</sup> appeals to Herodotus<sup>3</sup>, and remarks that terror had spread in Greece since Darius' demand for earth and water, he proves the converse of what he holds for true." This view has a certain plausibility, since the war with Medes is mentioned casually, together with old age and death, as a trouble to be forgotten at a season of drinking, song and talk. But while old age and death are real troubles, and things with which the poet and his hearers had to reckon, the proceedings of Harpagus were in no sense a real trouble, still less a cause of *fear*, to a Megarian poet and his Megarian hearers; hardly more so than the Boer forces before Ladysmith were to Sydney at Christmas of 1899. The conquest of the Greeks of Asia Minor by Persia had no great interest for Megara or for any city of Greece proper, least of all for a Dorian city. Doubtless the Megarians sympathised with the Greeks and not with the Persians, but they sympathised only as onlookers. They cannot have felt surprise that Cyrus should take over the Greek subjects of the Lydian kings, and they had not the slightest reason to fear for their own safety. Even their sympathy was perhaps not very strong, for the panhellenic

<sup>1</sup> P. 392, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Schediasma de Theognide*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> vi. 122.

feeling hardly existed before the Persian wars. In short, Theognis writing in Megara could never have mentioned the fear of Harpagus as one of the cares which his hearers were to drown in wine.

Flach therefore is wrong; and if this poem is by a poet of Greece proper, it must refer to one of the Persian invasions of Greece. With this the language of 764 agrees: *μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δειδιότες πόλεμον*. In the first place, the participle takes its mood from the imperatival subjunctive *πίνωμεν*; it is equivalent to a subjunctive, not an indicative; it implies an exhortation, not, as Flach imagines, a statement. Secondly, *δειδιότες* means "fearing," not "lamenting" or "disgusted at"; it is appropriate to fears for one's own safety, not a friend's. Thirdly, it is more than doubtful whether *τὸν Μήδων πόλεμον* could be used thus to denote war waged by the Medes against some third party not named. In English we do not speak of the war between the United States and Spain as the Spanish war or the American war unless America or Spain is mentioned or implied in the context. This is a very natural principle, common perhaps to all languages. So in Greek, when only one of the belligerent parties is mentioned, the other must be inferred from the context<sup>1</sup>; and the con-

<sup>1</sup> A few examples will shew how the Greeks use *πόλεμος* with a single genitive, or with an adjective equivalent to a single genitive, or with *πρὸς* and an accusative alone. *Iliad* iii. 165 (Priam is speaking):

*θεοὶ νύ μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν,  
οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν.*

Herodotus vi. 2: *Ἰστιαῖος...ὑπέδινε τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πολέμου*—the Ionians' war with Darius. Thucydides i. 24. 5: *οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες Ἐπιδάμνιοι πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πρέσβεις...δεόμενοι...τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον καταλῦσαι*—the war of *οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει* with the barbarians. Thucydides i. 32. 4: *ἐς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἐρήμοι δι' αὐτὸ καθέσταμεν*—the Corcyraeans are speaking of their war with Corinth (*Κορινθίων* certainly goes with *πόλεμον*, not with *ἐρήμοι*). Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 22: *λέγοντες ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἴη οὕτω νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ*—the two parties are expressed by *Ἕλληνας* and *Ἑλλήνων* (Liddell and Scott are wrong in supposing that *ἐφ'* governs *Ἑλλήνων*). Demosthenes, *Philippic* iv. 47: *Θηβαίων ἀσχόλων διὰ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον γενομένων*—the Thebans' war with the Phocians. Demosthenes, *de Falsa Legatione*, 83: *τῷ Φωκῶν πολέμῳ...ἢ τ' ἀπὸ Θηβαίων ἂδει ὑπῆρχεν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐλθεῖν ἂν...εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Φίλιππον μηδὲ Θηβαίους*—the war of Philip and Thebes against the Phocians. When both

text of 764 neither mentions nor suggests any city but that in which the poet writes.

Lines 757—68 then were written by some one resident in a city which was in real though perhaps not instant danger from Persian arms; not necessarily in Megara, if this poem stood alone. But in the next poem but one, the place as well as the occasion is indicated. 773—88 were written at Megara, the city of Alcathous, whom Apollo helped in the task of restoring its walls; and they were written at a time when "the wanton host of the Medes" was a present peril to the city. To what events do they refer? Not to the disastrous expedition of Mardonius in the year 492; for then the Persians got no further than Macedonia, the danger never came near Megara, and the Greeks never felt the need of union or the evils of discord. It was in 491, when Darius sent heralds to demand earth and water from the Greek cities, that fear of Persia began to be felt. Aegina and other islands, and perhaps the Thebans and Thessalians, submitted to the king. In 490 the Persian army overran Euboea, which Theognis is known to have visited<sup>1</sup>; destroyed Eretria, perhaps the very city or a near neighbour of the very city in which he had stayed; and brought Athens, which is within thirty miles of Megara, into extreme danger; while Sparta, the leading city of Greece, remained criminally idle. Thus all the conditions of our poem are satisfied by the events of 490. They are satisfied also by the last Persian invasion. In the winter of 481—480 the terrible army of Xerxes began its march. In 480 the Greeks' first line of defence was broken at Thermopylae; the Persians occupied Histiaea and Attica, ravaged Phocis, and marched to Delphi, the holy place of the god to whom our poem is addressed; while the land forces of the Greeks retreated to the Isthmus, which they fortified, breaking up the road north of Corinth and abandoning Megara to the invader. Up to this point the Greeks had

parties are to be expressed, two genitives are used, or a genitive together with *πρός* and an accusative. Thus Xenophon, *Hellenica* iii. 2 *ad finem*: οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλένων πόλεμος ἐληξε.

<sup>1</sup> Line 784.

worked together for the most part, but the dissensions which preceded the battle of Salamis suit the words ἀφραδίην ἐσορῶν καὶ στάσις Ἑλλήνων λαοφθόρον. The victory at Salamis relieved Megara and southern Greece from danger for a while; but in May or June of 479 Mardonius occupied Athens for the second time, and his cavalry overran the Megarid<sup>1</sup>. Early in the autumn of the same year the victories at Plataea and Mycale finally rid Greece of its foes.

Thus our poem refers either to the invasion of 490 or to that of 480 and 479; to which of the two, we cannot say<sup>2</sup>. It may be urged that if Theognis had lived till 479 the events of the ten preceding years would have left more traces in his poetry; but such an argument from the poet's silence can have little value. Nor can the question be decided by the words ἡρος ἐπερχομένου<sup>3</sup>, since the war of 490 and the two stages of the war of 480 and 479 each came to an end in the summer or early autumn. The important fact is that Theognis was alive and writing at least as late as 490.

### III. *Cerinthus and the Lelantian Plain.*

οἳ μοι ἀνακλῆς· ἀπὸ μὲν Κήρινθος δλωλεν,  
 Ληλάντου δ' ἀγαθὸν κείρεται οἰνόπεδον·  
 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ φεύγουσι, πόλιν δὲ κακοὶ διέπουσιν.  
 ὥς δὴ κυψελίζων Ζεὺς ὀλέσειε γένος.

Thus 891—4 are given by A. In the last line all the manuscripts but A and one other have ὥς κυψελίζων.

Cerinthus is first mentioned in the *Iliad*; it was a town on the north-east coast of Euboea. τὸ Λήλαντον πεδίον or τὸ Ληλάντιον πεδίον is first mentioned in the hymn to the Pythian Apollo; it was a rich plain lying between Eretria

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus ix. 14: ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἔκπτος προελθοῦσα κατεπτάσατο χώραν τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αἰτὴ στρατιὴ ἀπῆκετο.

<sup>2</sup> J. Beloch (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 731, n. 2) decides in favour of 480, thinking the war of 490 inadmissible as well as all earlier events.

<sup>3</sup> For the connexion between spring and the worship of Apollo see G. F. Unger, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1890, pp. 153—83.

and Chalcis, and these cities often went to war about it<sup>1</sup>. Now we know from line 784 that Theognis visited Euboea:

ἦλθον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ εἰς Σικελὴν ποτε γαῖαν,  
ἦλθον δ' Εὐβοίης ἀμπελόεν πεδίον,  
Σπάρτην τ' Εὐρώτα δονακοτρόφου ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ,  
καὶ μ' ἐφίλευν προφρόνως πάντες ἐπερχόμενον.

How do these lines bear upon 891—4? Line 784 has not received the attention which it deserves. *πεδίον* is never simply equivalent to *γῆ* or *χθών*; the meaning "flat land" can always be traced<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless the Latin version in Seber's edition translates *Εὐβοίης ἀμπελόεν πεδίον* by "Euboeae vitiferum solum"; and in this rendering all subsequent writers must be supposed to have acquiesced, since none of them infers from these words anything more than that Theognis visited Euboea. But this translation is quite inadmissible. *πεδίον* must have its regular meaning "plain."

The next question is whether *Εὐβοίης* is a genitive of definition or a partitive genitive. If the former, the words must mean: "the flat vine-clad island of Euboea." But

<sup>1</sup> Strabo x. i. 12: τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεον ὠμολόγουν ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις αὗται, περὶ δὲ Δηλάντου διενεχθεῖσαι... (here is a lacuna)... οὐδ' οὕτω τελέως ἐπαύσατο. In x. iii. 6 Strabo says that Curetes settled in Chalcis and waged continual wars about the Lelantian plain.

<sup>2</sup> Apparent exceptions vanish under scrutiny. In *Iliad* viii. 21—

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίοιζε  
Ζῆν' ὅπατον μήστωρ—

*πεδίον* means the lower ground in contrast with the mountain-top; for *ἐξ οὐρανόθεν* is equivalent to *ἐξ Οὐλύμπου*, where the meeting of the gods to whom Zeus speaks is being held—line 3: ἀκροτάτη κορυφῇ πολυδαιράδος Οὐλύμπου. Line 25 proves this beyond all doubt, in spite of Aristarchus' law that in Homer Olympus is never another name for the sky. *Iliad* xx. 145:

τείχος...

ὕψηλόν, τὸ βὰ οἱ Τρῶες καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
πόλεον, ὅφρα τὸ κῆρος ὑπεκπροφυγῶν ἀλέαιτο,  
ὅππότε μιν σέυαιτο ἀπ' ἡϊόνος πεδίοιζε—

from the broken beach to the level ground behind. *Odyssey* xv. 183:

ἦ καὶ ἐφ' ἱπποῦν μάστιγιν βάλεν· οἱ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα  
ἤϊξαν πεδίοιζε διὰ πτόλιος μεμαῶτες—

into the open country from the town, which the poet imagined perhaps as built, like many old towns, on a height.

Euboea is not flat. For the most part it is very mountainous. "Its general want of breadth," says Grote<sup>1</sup>, "leaves little room for plains. The area of the island consists principally of mountain, rock, dell, and ravine." The only two plains of any extent are the plain of Histiaea and the Lelantian plain. Nor is it noted as a whole for its vineyards, but for its pastures or cornfields; and the only parts which were famous for wine were the two plains just mentioned, *πολυστάφυλος Ἰστίαια*<sup>2</sup> and *Ληλάντου ἀγαθὸν οἰνόπεδον*. If then *Εὐβοίης* is a genitive of definition, Theognis has given an incredibly bad description of the island for one who had visited it. Surely it is not fair to charge him with this blunder, if the passage will bear another interpretation. If *Εὐβοίης* is taken to be a *partitive* genitive, all difficulty is removed.

What Theognis says, then, is not "I have visited Euboea, that vine-clad plain," but "I have visited the vine-clad plain which is in Euboea." By this he can have meant nothing but the Lelantian plain. The plain of Histiaea is of no importance in Greek literature. The Lelantian plain, on the other hand, is mentioned in the hymn to the Pythian Apollo among the places which Apollo passed when he came down from Olympus and journeyed through Thessaly, Euboea and Boeotia till he came to Telphusa; and in history it is prominent as a cause of disputes between Chalcis and Eretria.

Notice that lines 783—6 have resisted all attacks. Not even Welcker or Sitzler banishes them from Theognis. It may therefore be said with certainty that Theognis visited the Lelantian plain, which would imply that he visited either Chalcis or Eretria or both<sup>3</sup>. This fact makes it at least highly probable that he and no other is the author of lines 891—4, *οἳ μοι ἀναλκίης κτλ.*

A further reason for thinking them the work of a visitor

<sup>1</sup> *History of Greece*, pt. II. ch. xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* ii. 537.

<sup>3</sup> If we ascribe to Theognis one version of the hexameters *γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄργος ἔμεινον κτλ.*, that would be a reason for preferring Chalcis to Eretria here, since the men who drank the water of fair Arethusa were the men of Chalcis.

to Euboea, not a native, is to be found in line 888. 885—90 may be translated thus:—

“Peace and plenty be the lot of this city, that I may revel with others; I love not evil war.

“And prick not up thine ear too much at the herald’s loud cry, for *’tis not for our fatherland that we strive.*

“Nay, but it were shame to be present and mounted on swift steeds and yet not look upon the sorrowful battle<sup>1</sup>.”

Then follow 891—4, the lines under discussion. We have already seen reason to believe that the pieces of our collection are not arranged haphazard or on any arbitrary principle. Other things equal, it is desirable that adjacent pieces should be interpreted in the light of one another. Applying this method to 885—94, we find that in the first two couplets the poet is for holding aloof from the war, with which as a stranger he has no great concern. In the third, which is antithetic to the first two, he puts forward the other side of the question, the disgrace of standing idle while others fight. In the fourth he bewails the misfortunes of the city with which are his sympathies, and curses those to whom its failure is due. The whole is a short chain of little poems. Thus 891—4 may fairly be assumed to be the work of one who was interested in the war not as a member of either of the parties but as a visitor from abroad<sup>2</sup>. This serves to strengthen one’s distrust of the criticism which banishes poems from Theognis for no better reason than that they mention places with which he was not obviously and admittedly connected.

The question remains, what was this war wherein Cerinthus was destroyed and the Lelantian plain laid waste? Strabo and others tell us that the Lelantian plain was the cause of

<sup>1</sup> It is grammatically better to take the words thus than to include the participles under the *μή*, though the use of the accusatives (*παρόντα* and *ἐπιβάντα*) instead of datives is perhaps slightly in favour of the latter course.

<sup>2</sup> W. Vischer thinks that *πόλις* in 893 proves that 891—4 cannot be by Theognis, since in Theognis *πόλις* always refers to Megara. It would be more accurate to say that *πόλις* refers to the city in which Theognis was residing when he wrote each poem, and that most or many of his political poems were written in Megara.



quarrels between Chalcis and Eretria, but accurate knowledge of the history of Euboea before the Persian wars we have none; and we do not know how Cerinthus, which was more than thirty miles from those two cities, came to be involved in their disputes, though of course many towns of Euboea may have fought on either side. All that it is safe to say is that the destruction of Cerinthus and the ravaging of the plain took place in some war between Chalcis and Eretria.

An attempt has been made to infer an approximate date from an emendation of 894. The word *κυψελίζων* or *κυψελλίζον* is unmetrical and apparently meaningless. Hermann proposed *Κυψελιδῶν*, and Bergk reads *Κυψελιδέων*; and no better conjecture has been made. What would this word mean? Merope's father was named Cypselus, but he is quite unimportant in legend and in no way connected with Euboea. Another Cypselus was the father of the elder Miltiades; but he does not appear to have taken a leading part in affairs, and his famous descendants are never called and are not likely to have been called Cypselids, since a patronymic is not thus applied to several successive generations unless the person from whose name it comes was himself a man of note. Nor is it likely that the Athenian Cypselus was connected with the Cypselids of Corinth or with the Arcadian Cypselus, the father of Merope; for his family claimed descent from Aeacus king of Aegina<sup>1</sup>. The only Cypselids who play a part in history are the tyrants of Corinth. The dynasty was founded by Cypselus, who reigned from about 655 to 625; it was continued by his son Periander, who reigned probably from 625 to 584; and it ended with Psammetichus, who reigned three years<sup>2</sup>. Thus if line 894 refers to any of these three, the poem cannot well have been written later than 581; and it is incredible that the literary activity of Theognis should have lasted from 581 to 490.

But the reference to the Cypselids of Corinth is very far

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus vi. 35: *Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου...τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονώς*. The silence of Herodotus proves that Miltiades was not related to the Cypselids of Corinth.

<sup>2</sup> The length of each reign is given by Aristotle, *Politics* v. 12.

from certain. To begin with, *Κυψελιδέων* is only a conjecture; and though the change is small it does not remove all difficulty. The use of *ὥς* to introduce a wish is called barbarous by Cobet; and even if this condemnation is too severe<sup>1</sup>, *δὴ* is out of place. It is therefore possible that some larger corruption has occurred than the change of *Δ* to *Ζ*<sup>2</sup>. But even if *Κυψελιδέων* were established in the text beyond all doubt, still we should not be bound to refer it to the Cypselids of Corinth. We have seen that two persons of history and one of legend bore the name Cypselus, so that it cannot have been very rare. Moreover the evidence on which Corinth is given a part in the struggle between Chalcis and Eretria is extremely weak, as a careful examination will shew.

The reason why so much more importance is attached to this war by modern than by ancient writers is perhaps to be traced to a misunderstanding of a passage of Thucydides. In the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the first book Thucydides describes the earliest sea-battles and the growth of naval powers. In the fifteenth chapter he turns to wars waged on land. "War by land," he says, "whence any power was derived there was none. All that did take place were between neighbours and neighbours. Greeks did not go on foreign expeditions far from home for the subjugation of others. For the chief cities were not surrounded by subject states. Nor again did they form free and equal alliances for purposes of war<sup>3</sup>. Instead of that, the disputes were local and confined to adjoining cities. The war in which more than in any other the rest of Greece also took part as allies of one or the other party was the war waged of old between Chalcis and Eretria." That is not to say that all the rest of Greece or any considerable part of it took sides. All that Thucydides

<sup>1</sup> The three passages which Bergk quotes from Homer against him are ill chosen, for in two at least *ὥς* should be read.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps worth while to notice that *κήρυθος* means bee-bread and *κυψέλιον* a beehive.

<sup>3</sup> This must be the meaning of the sentence. *αὐτοὶ* means "of their own free will."

says is that more states besides the principals in the quarrel took part in this war than in the other land-wars of the early times of Greece; he does not say that these foreign participants were either many (except by comparison) or important. It must be evident to any one who follows out the train of thought that Thucydides regarded it as a land-war, not as a sea-war, and therefore as a small war, not a great. If to the Milesians, the Samians, and some Thessalians, who are known to have joined in, we add Megara and Corinth, who are thought by some<sup>1</sup> to have joined in, then this war must have been a striking exception to the rule which Thucydides lays down: ἐκδήμους στρατείας πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῇ οὐκ ἐξήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες.

The language of Herodotus too suggests that this war was after all only a small affair. He mentions it only once, in v. 99:—Ἀρισταγόρης δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπίκοντο εἴκοσι νηυσί, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἐρετρίων πέντε τριήρεις, οἳ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες (οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἐρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι ἀντία Ἐρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθεον)—οὗτοι ὦν ἐπείτε σφι ἀπίκοντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρήσαν, ἐποικέτο στρατιήν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδις. No mention of Samos or the Samians has occurred before this point in the fifth book; they are not mentioned again until chapter 112, and then quite casually; and they took no part in the march to Sardis. Why then does Herodotus single out Samos for mention here? It is hard to believe that he would not have mentioned Megara and Corinth as well, had he known that they too joined in the war between Chalcis and Eretria. It is true that Miletus and the neighbouring island of Samos form a sort of pair; but so would Megara and Corinth, if they sided one with Chalcis and one with Eretria<sup>2</sup>. Nor is it like Herodotus to miss such a chance of giving information by the way. The inference is obvious: Miletus

<sup>1</sup> By the writer of the article on Chalkis in Pauly-Wissowa, to take a very recent instance.

<sup>2</sup> As the writer in Pauly-Wissowa would have us believe.

and Samos were the only two cities of note which Herodotus knew to have taken part in the war. Perhaps the northern colonies of Chalcis and Eretria assisted their mother-cities; but no city of Chalcidice approached the importance of Samos or Miletus in early times; and lack of ships may have prevented them from giving effective help. The silence of Herodotus, Thucydides and later writers is a very strong reason for excluding Corinth and Megara from the war. It is true that the Corinthians, perhaps in the reign of Periander, founded Potidaea in Chalcidice<sup>1</sup>; but that proves nothing, for it must not be supposed that this region was an Euboean preserve. The quarrel between Periander and Samos is not referred by Herodotus<sup>2</sup> to the Euboean war, but only to a consequence of Periander's relations with Corcyra. The supposition that Chalcis, Eretria, Samos and Miletus were the only considerable cities engaged in the war is in no way incompatible with the passage of Thucydides; for a land-war which embraced cities on both sides of the Aegean was an exception to the rule which he had laid down; and if he had known of any war which involved many more cities than four he would not have laid down the rule, or at least he would have dwelt longer upon the exception.

For these reasons it is very rash to assume that *Κυψελιδέων*, if that is what Theognis wrote, refers to the participation of the Corinthian dynasty in the war between Chalcis and Eretria. If on the other hand we follow Camerarius<sup>3</sup> and take *Κυψελιδέων* to be a use of the particular for the general, and to mean nothing more than *τυράννων*, then the word ceases to be evidence for the date of these lines, except in so far as it proves that they were not written before the latter part of the reign of Periander; for Periander was the first Cypselid tyrant, and the early years of his reign could not have made his name a reproach.

<sup>1</sup> See W. Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, i. pp. 588 ff.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 48—9.

<sup>3</sup> This is his note: *ἐπήνεγκε δὲ ἅρᾳ παροιμῶδη, κατὰ τῶν τυραννικῶς καὶ ὡμῶς προστατούντων, ἣ καὶ πανούργως ἐνεδρευνόντων τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίᾳ, μμμούμενοι (sic) τὰς Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος ἢ Περιάνδρου τοῦ Κυψέλου ἀποσιουργίας.*

Flach mentions another suggestion: "A. von Gutschmid has reminded me that by the race of the Cypselids may well be meant the Athenian Miltiades, son of Cypselus, and that the events in Euboea to which the poet refers may belong to the year 506 B.C." This is highly improbable. We do not hear nor is it likely that the family of Miltiades was ever called "the Cypselids." The elder Miltiades was dead before 506; the younger, the son of Cimon, does not figure in Athenian history until after the collapse of the Ionian revolt, and in 506 he was engaged in the affairs of the Chersonese. Nor does Cerinthus appear to have had any share in the events of 506<sup>1</sup>. Herodotus' description<sup>2</sup> of the Athenian invasion of Euboea mentions no city but Chalcis. There may be some who would understand *Κυψελιδέων* of the Corinthians and yet refer the lines to the events of 506. But why should the Corinthians be cursed for the fall of Chalcis? It is true that the Corinthians were the cause of the breaking up of the army of Cleomenes<sup>3</sup>, whereby Athens became free to avenge herself on Boeotia and Chalcis: but why should the poet's resentment be directed against them rather than against the Athenians themselves? And why should he call the Corinthians *Κυψελίδαι*, when Corinth was in the hands of the party which had expelled the Cypselids?

These hypotheses being discarded, we are left with the simple fact that the poem speaks of the destruction of Cerinthus and the wasting of the Lelantian plain. Since Eretria was no longer a city of consequence after the Persian invasion of 490, and since the plain was in dispute before that between Eretria and Chalcis, it is to be presumed that these lines were written before 490; but how long before we cannot say<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This is well shewn by W. Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, i. pp. 588 ff.

<sup>2</sup> v. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus v. 75.

<sup>4</sup> More is said about this question in Appendix VII.

IV. *The Sicilian Elegy.*

Suidas tells us that Theognis ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. Some scholars have referred this to the events narrated by Herodotus<sup>1</sup> in his account of Hippocrates tyrant of Gela: πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἴπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίους καὶ πρὸς Συρηκοσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συγχνοὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι πολέμοισι ἑὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος. τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολλῶν τούτων πλήν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία ἀπέφυγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἴπποκράτεος. Συρηκοσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ· ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοισίδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτει Καμάριναν Συρηκοσίους παραδόναι· Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Note in the first sentence the arrangement of the copulae, and the preposition πρὸς. Since πολιορκέειν πρὸς τινος is not a possible construction, it is evident that πολιορκέοντος governs no word later than Λεοντίους. The proceedings against the Syracusans, then, were not of the nature of a siege, and Herodotus goes on to explain why: because after Hippocrates had defeated the Syracusans on the Eloros peace was brought about by the intervention of Corinth and Corcyra<sup>2</sup>.

We know of no siege of Syracuse earlier than the famous siege which began in 414. Accordingly some scholars see in the words of Suidas a confused reference to the siege of 414, and ascribe this elegy to "the writer of very frigid tragedies who was nicknamed Snow." But this person did not belong to literature except indirectly through the gibes of Aristophanes<sup>3</sup>, and it is not likely that his works survived, or even their names. Moreover, if he wrote on those who were saved from the siege, they must have been the remnants of the Athenian army, so that Suidas' words are no true description

<sup>1</sup> vii. 154.

<sup>2</sup> See E. A. Freeman, *History of Sicily*, ii. pp. 116—9.

<sup>3</sup> *Acharnians* 11, 140; *Thesmophoriazusae* 170.

of such a poem; and if the text is wrong, or Suidas mistaken, the elegy may have been written by our Theognis after all.

We know of only one event which could have given him occasion for such a poem. In 483 the inhabitants of the Hyblaeon Megara were removed "from the city and district," as Thucydides says, by Gelon tyrant of Syracuse<sup>1</sup>. This was between the battle of Marathon and the battle of Salamis, therefore either not long before or not long after the time when Theognis wrote 773—88. He was for some part of his life a citizen of the Hyblaeon Megara; and he must have visited Sicily once at least before he wrote 773—88, if 783—8 are to be attached (as they certainly should be) to what precedes. Perhaps he was in the city during the siege, and its fall was the cause of his return to his birthplace; but this cannot of course be proved. In any case the colony's calamity was a very natural theme for a poet of the mother city to choose.

Gelon's treatment of Megara is thus described by Herodotus<sup>2</sup>: *Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκεούμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκῶντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολίητας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων, οὐκ ἔοντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης*. If we insert *ὑπὸ* in the text of Suidas, *ἐλεγείαν εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ* might mean "an elegy on those who were kept by the Syracusans in the siege," that is to say, the rich Megarians whom Gelon kept as citizens of Syracuse, in contrast with the common people whom he sold out of Sicily. *εἰς* would then mean not "in honour of" but simply "on," its usual meaning in the titles, for example, of the poems in the Greek anthology. Possibly the elegy was

<sup>1</sup> The evidence for this event and its date is in Thucydides vi. 3 and 4, Herodotus vii. 156. See Grote, new edition, v. p. 69; Freeman, ii. pp. 131—2, 498—9.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 156.

not laudatory but abusive, in the manner of Archilochus rather than of Simonides.

Other alterations of the text might be suggested. If εἰς τοὺς σωθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν Συρακουσίων were read, the reference might be to a party of irreconcilables who had broken through the besieging army and made good their escape, like the two hundred and twelve at Plataea. Herodotus mentions nothing of the kind, but his account is not full. The confusion, however, is very likely due to Suidas himself. In any case it is probable that his statement is not false, but only a mistaken account of the truth. Of the elegy itself not a trace remains; οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, for the Μοῦσα παιδική almost shared its fate. The fact that there occurred in 483 an event which satisfies more or less the statement of Suidas is an additional reason for thinking that the literary activity of Theognis lasted till the time of the Persian wars, and that the traditional date of his ἀκμή is wrong.

Thus, though the evidence is not enough to fix the date of Theognis with precision, it suffices to prove almost beyond doubt that he was writing as late as 490 and probably some years later.

#### V. *Onomacritus.*

Remarks were made above on the names of the persons to whom Theognis writes. Some of them, we found, occur disproportionately often in inscriptions of Boeotia, Oropus and Chalcis; but more than this there is no hope of learning except with regard to the Onomacritus of line 503 and the Simonides of 469, 667 and 1349.

There are two Onomacriti in Greek history. Of one no more is known than what may be gathered from a passage in Aristotle's *Politics*<sup>1</sup>: πειρῶνται δὲ τινες καὶ συνάγειν ὡς Ὀνομακρίτου μὲν γενομένου πρώτου δεινοῦ περὶ νομοθεσίαν, γυμνασθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ Λοκρὸν ὄντα καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντα κατὰ τέχνην μαντικὴν· τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Θάλητα ἑταῖρον,

<sup>1</sup> II. ix. p. 1274 a.



Θάλητος δ' ἀκροατὴν Λυκοῦργον καὶ Ζάλευκον, Ζαλεύκου δὲ Χαράνδαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσιν ἀσκεπτότερον τῶν χρόνων ἔχοντες. The Thales here mentioned is of course not the philosopher of Miletus but the lyric poet of Gortyn or Elyros in Crete<sup>1</sup>. Several pieces of evidence connect him with Lycurgus<sup>2</sup>. The account which Aristotle slights made him the instructor of Zaleucus; and since the legislation of Zaleucus is assigned to 660, the date of Thaletas and his companion Onomacritus could not on that view have been later than the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the seventh, and so not later, perhaps earlier, than the probable date of Callinus and Archilochus. Bergk thinks it quite likely that Thaletas used the elegiac metre freely as others did<sup>3</sup>. It is not likely at all. Since Thaletas never figures in Greek literature except as one of the earliest masters of melic poetry, there is a strong presumption that he did not write elegiacs; for elegiacs of his would have had an especial value as the earliest or among the earliest of their kind, and at least the memory of them would have survived. Hence it is hard to agree with Bergk, who says of lines 503—8: "This Onomacritus seems to be the Locrian, not the Athenian.....If it is to the Locrian Onomacritus that these lines are addressed, the poem should perhaps be ascribed to Thaletas." Surely Aristotle's criticism applies to the German scholar: ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν λέγει ἀσκεπτότερον τῶν χρόνων ἔχων.

The other Onomacritus is mentioned in Herodotus' narra-

<sup>1</sup> This fact seems to render valueless an argument advanced by Professor Ridgeway (in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, ii. p. 135) and accepted by Mr Hicks (in the edition of books i—v of the *Politics* by Susemihl and Hicks) against the authenticity of this chapter of the *Politics*. Professor Ridgeway points out that the form Θάλητος is contrary to the practice of Aristotle, who elsewhere uses the proper dialectic forms of personal names; compare Θάλω τοῦ Μιλησίου in 1259 a. But here Aristotle is speaking of the poet, sometimes called Thaletas, who was not an Ionian but a Cretan; and the by-form Θαλήτας shews that the stem of his name Θάλης is Θαλητ-, and the genitive accordingly Θάλητος; compare κέλης, Μάγνης etc.

<sup>2</sup> All that is known about him is recorded in Susemihl and Hicks, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> Note on 1211—6: "quem elegiaco numero passim sicut alios usum esse, sane est verisimile."

tive of the visit of the Pisistratidae to Xerxes at the Persian court<sup>1</sup>: ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμών τῶν Μουσαίου ἀνεβεβήκεσαν, τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι· ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἱππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἁλοῦς ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμὸν ὥς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοίατο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἱππάρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβὰς ὅκως ἀπικοίτο ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνοῦς λόγους κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμών· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα φέρων τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν, ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα ἐκλεγόμενος ἔλεγε, τὸν τε Ἑλλήσποντον ὥς ζευχθῆναι χρεὸν εἶη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Πέρσῃ, τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμφδέων προσεφέρετο, καὶ οἳ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι. This interesting person was expelled from Athens before 514, when Hipparchus was murdered; and he was in Susa after 485, when Xerxes came to the throne. Thus he was of mature years between 490 and 480, the limits within which Theognis wrote lines 773—88; he was engaged like Theognis in poetical work; and Megara is less than thirty miles from Athens. But the evidence, though it points to the identification of the friend of Theognis with the forger of oracles, does not suffice to prove it. This however is certain, that if the Onomacritus of line 503 is either of the two he is the Athenian poet and not the Locrian lawgiver.

## VI. Simonides.

According to the old chronologists the iambic poet Simonides led colonists from Samos to Amorgos four hundred and ninety years after the Trojan war, and so early in the seventh century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus he is made contemporary with a Macedonian king Ἀνάκτορος, of whom nothing seems to be known.

Simonides of Ceos described himself in 476 as ὀγδωκονταέτει παιδὶ Λεωπρέπεος<sup>1</sup>. This does not prove that he was then just eighty years old, but it implies that he was nearer eighty than seventy or ninety. He was therefore born soon after 560. He was invited to Athens by Hipparchus, who ruled with his brother from 527 to 514. After 514 he visited Thessaly, but in 490, when the battle of Marathon was fought, he had returned to Athens; and he was still or again at Athens in 476, when he trained a choir and recorded its victory in the poem quoted above. Afterwards he travelled to Magna Graecia and Sicily, where he died in 467.

The Parian Marble mentions another poet named Simonides, who would be the grandfather of the great poet of Ceos<sup>2</sup>. He cannot have been born much later than 600. The grandson of the great Simonides would not be born much before 510.

Another poet called Simonides is known only from Suidas: Σιμωνίδης Καρύστιος ἡ Ἐρετριεύς, ἐποποιός· τὴν εἰς Αὐλίδαν συνοδὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τριμέτρων βιβλία β', περὶ Ἰφιγενείας ἔν. He is probably later than Theognis, for the iambic metre was not applied to epic themes in early times.

Simonides of Amorgos may possibly have been alive between 490 and 480 if the weaker tradition of his date is true. Simonides of Ceos was certainly alive then and in his prime; and in 490 and 476 he was at Athens, less than thirty miles from Megara. His grandfather can hardly have lived till 490. His grandson may have been alive then, but he cannot have been of mature years during much of Theognis' life. The poet of Carystos or Eretria was probably not contemporary with Theognis. Thus it is most likely to the great Simonides, if to any of the five men of that name, that Theognis addressed lines 467—96, 667—82 and 1345—50. Further than this it is not safe to go.

<sup>1</sup> Fragment 147.

<sup>2</sup> Croiset, ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 336, n. 1; H. Flach, *Chronicon Parium*, p. 22.

VII. *Megara in the sixth century.*

Our knowledge of the history of Megara during the sixth century is neither extensive nor precise. The following passages have been used by Sitzler, Hiller, Flach and others.

Plutarch, *Ἑλληνικά*, 18: τίς ἡ παλιντοκία; Μεγαρεῖς Θεαγένῃ τὸν τύραννον ἐκβαλόντες ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐσωφρόνησαν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν· εἶτα πολλὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ ἄκρατον αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τῶν δημαγωγῶν οἰνοχοούντων διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι τὰ τ' ἄλλα τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀσελγῶς προσεφέροντο καὶ παριόντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν οἱ πένητες ἡξίουν ἐστιᾶσθαι καὶ δειπνεῖν πολυτελῶς, εἰ δὲ μὴ τυγχάνοιεν, πρὸς βίαν καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐχρῶντο πᾶσι. τέλος δὲ δόγμα θέμενοι τοὺς τόκους ἀνεπράττοντο παρὰ τῶν δανειστῶν, οὓς δεδωκότες ἐτύγχανον, παλιντοκίαν τὸ γιγνόμενον προσαγορεύσαντες.

Aristotle, *Politics*, 1302 b: διὰ καταφρόνησιν δὲ καὶ στασιάζουσι καὶ ἐπιτίθενται, οἷον ἐν τε ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις..., καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ εὐποροὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἷον καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πολιτευομένοις ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἡττηθέντων.

1304 b: παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν Μεγάροις κατελύθη δημοκρατία· οἱ γὰρ δημαγωγοί, ἵνα χρήματα ἔχωσι δημεύειν, ἐξέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν γνωρίμων, ἕως πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν τοὺς φεύγοντας· οἱ δὲ κατιόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι τὸν δῆμον καὶ κατέστησαν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν.

1300 a: ἡ γὰρ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καθιστᾶσιν ἢ τινές, καὶ ἡ ἐκ πάντων ἢ ἐκ τινῶν ἀφωρισμένων, οἷον ἡ τιμήματι ἢ γένει ἢ ἀρετῇ ἢ τινι τοιούτῳ ἄλλῳ, ὥσπερ ἐν Μεγάροις ἐκ τῶν συγκατελθόντων καὶ συμμαχεσαμένων πρὸς τὸν δῆμον.

Strabo, ix. 1. 18: πολλαῖς δὲ κέχρηται μεταβολαῖς ἡ τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλις, συμμένει δ' ὁμῶς μέχρι νῦν.

From these passages it appears that after the fall of Theagenes the people gradually gained power until they established a reign of terror. Many of the aristocrats were banished that their property might be confiscated. When the exiles had become numerous they attacked and defeated the democrats and set up an oligarchy.

This outline has been filled in by different writers in different ways. Flach, for instance, tells us<sup>1</sup> that the aristocrats were defeated in battle by the democrats. He refers to the first of the three passages of the *Politics*, which contains no mention of any such battle; indeed Aristotle's use of the imperfect *ἐξέβαλλον* and the clause *ἕως πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν τοὺς φεύγοντας* make it quite certain that the aristocrats were not expelled in a body, but one by one or a few at a time, probably by abuse of legal forms and not by force. The exiles, says Flach, conspired against the democracy, but their first attempt, of which Theognis was the life and soul, miscarried through dissension. For this there is not a shred of evidence. At the second attempt, he continues, the exiles defeated the democrats, who had previously chosen a tyrant. The evidence for this tyrant is lines 847—50 of Theognis; evidence to shew that he was reigning when the nobles restored themselves there is none. At the beginning of the Persian wars, he says in conclusion, quiet had been completely restored in Megara. The only evidence for this is the fact that Megara took part in the Persian wars; but so did Athens, and yet Athens was divided by political dissensions which were forgotten in face of a national danger.

Where Flach has advanced so boldly cautious men will fear to tread. We have all seen puzzles consisting of sections cut in various shapes, which can only be fitted together in one way. If some of the pieces of such a puzzle are missing the rest may be combined in several different arrangements, none necessarily right. From this Megarian puzzle not some but most of the pieces are lost. The wisest course is to

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik*, p. 395. Flach pays Sitzler the compliment of close imitation, not observing that Sitzler draws upon his fancy. Compare pp. 397—8 of Flach with pp. 46—7 of Sitzler's edition. The German is little more than a paraphrase of the Latin, less some qualifications such as "ut videtur" and plus some lively touches such as "Strassenkampf."

As evidence for Megara's part in the Persian wars Sitzler rightly refers to Simonides, epigram 107, and Herodotus viii. 1, viii. 45, ix. 21. Flach refers to these passages as "Simon. ep. 107; Herod. i. 45, ix. 41," and appeals to them in support of his description of the exiles' second attack and their defeat of the democrats, events with which they have nothing to do.

throw up the game in despair. There might be some hope of success if the poems of Theognis were arranged in chronological order; but that not even Sitzler assumes. Of the poems which can be dated with anything like certainty the earlier, the Euboean poem, comes after the later, the poems on the Persian wars. To Theognis or whoever arranged his poems as we have them their bearing on historical events was probably of little importance; it was their intrinsic value that he cared about; and the method on which he arranged them can no more be discovered at this distance of time than the method on which Virgil arranged his *Eclogues* or Horace his *Odes*. Hiller, with his usual wisdom, chooses the better part<sup>1</sup>. "At the time when Megara was allied with Athens, between 459 and 446, no exclusive oligarchy reigned; we hear of democratic conditions at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war<sup>2</sup>. What troubles and transformations the politics of this restless little people underwent, how often different forms of constitution replaced one another—in the present state of our knowledge who will trust himself to answer these questions with a confident voice?"

<sup>1</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1881, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides iv. 66.

## CONCLUSION.

IT remains to sum up the results to which these studies in Theognis lead. What has been found to be likely will here, for the sake of brevity, be set down as true.

Theognis was a citizen of the Nisaeon Megara. He lived to see the army of Xerxes enter Greece. He was acquainted with Onomacritus the forger of oracles, and with the lyric poet Simonides of Ceos. Before the Persian invasion he had visited Sparta, where he had friends; Euboea, where he took an interest in some quarrel between Chalcis and Eretria; and Sicily, where he became a citizen of the Hyblaeon Megara. In some period of banishment he dwelt at Thebes. From his short elegiac poems, or some of them, he formed two collections not very different in contents or arrangement from the first and second books of our text. He wrote also an elegy on some siege of Syracuse or the Hyblaeon Megara, which has perished; and poems in at least one other metre, including eight hexameters which survive.

It is the hope of the author that these studies have readjusted the balance of Theognidean criticism, and that henceforward the mere presence of a poem in the manuscripts will be taken as evidence that Theognis wrote it and put it where it is. Many difficulties of course will remain, but they will be not unlike the difficulties which the text of every Greek or Latin author presents. They will be more numerous in the first book than in the second. Theognis began the first book with care, but after the first two hundred lines the

pieces are arranged more or less at random, though there is often connexion between poems and groups. This lack of plan left the book open to all the common kinds of corruption, and it has been sorely disfigured by scholars and scribes. It must be remembered that no set of little poems has survived from classical times without confusion, and that no other collection of poems so many, so short, and so disconnected, was handed down in manuscript for so many years. Perhaps we ought to wonder less that so much of Theognis has suffered than that so much remains sound.



## APPENDIX I.

XENOPHON APUD STOBÆUM, FLORILEGIUM LXXXVIII. 14.  
(See pp. 73-87.)

SIR RICHARD JEBB has kindly allowed me to publish the following notes on this passage, which reached me too late for use in their proper place. They give an interpretation agreeable to my argument and accounting for οὖν.

"I express no view as to Xenophon's documents; but I take his words thus:—'The whole subject of the poet's discourse is the goodness or badness of men; his poetry is, in fact, a treatise on man, just as an expert in horses might write a manual on the training of a horse. Now (οὖν) the starting point (ἀρχή) of the poet's conception (τῆς ποιήσεως) seems to me right; the primary condition from which he starts is good birth.'

"1. The words περὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλον λόγον πεποιήται prove at once that ἡ ποίησις just afterwards means 'the poetry' (generally) of Theognis, so far as it was known to the writer, or was present to his mind at the time.

"2. ἡ οὖν ἀρχὴ κ.τ.λ. Here οὖν introduces the remarks on this ποίησις which the writer has to make. It does not denote a logical inference ('therefore'). It is used, as οὖν constantly is, to link a narrative or a criticism with the preceding mention of a subject or a person. 'Well, then....,' or 'Now'—as we use 'Now' at the beginning of an exposition.

"3. ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ποιήσεως. 'The starting-point of *the poetry*'=the starting-point of the poet's treatment of the subject just mentioned; the point from which his conception of it sets out. This does not, of course, imply that the particular verses which embody this ἀρχὴ stood *first* in the ποίησις of which the writer is thinking. It means that the condition which they express is fundamental to his conception."

## APPENDIX II.

## ἘΠΙΚΟΣ AND ἘΠΙΚΩΣ IN SUIDAS.

SUIDAS enumerates Pindar's works as follows: *ἔγραψε δὲ ἐν βιβλίοις ιζ' Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ταῦτα· δλυμπιονίκας, πυθιονίκας, προσόδια, παρθένια, ἐνθρονισμούς, βακχικά, δαφνηφορικά, παιᾶνας, ὑπορχήματα, ὕμνους, διθυράμβους, σκολιά, ἐγκώμια, θρήνους, δράματα τραγικά ιζ', ἐπιγράμματα ἐπικά καὶ καταλογάδην<sup>1</sup> παραινέσεις τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα.* When the words *ισθμιονίκας, νεμεονίκας* have been inserted after *πυθιονίκας* (it was homoeoteleuton no doubt that caused them to be omitted), the last item of the seventeen books is the *δράματα τραγικά*. Elsewhere, though the books are differently grouped<sup>2</sup>, the total seventeen is the same; but no other list mentions or takes into account what follows the seventeen books in Suidas, namely the words from *ἐπιγράμματα* onwards. Thus the list of Suidas falls into two parts: firstly the seventeen books of lyric poems to which the other lists are confined, secondly the miscellanea which he alone records. The second part Suidas or his authority must have considered comparatively unimportant, for it stands outside the total of seventeen with which his list begins. Thus it is hard to believe with Hultsch, Bergk and others that *ἐπικά* conceals some such statement of the total number of lines in Pindar's poems as *ἔπη κ,δ, 24000* lines; for the proper place for such a total would be after the seventeen items of the main list, not after the eighteenth which belongs to the miscellaneous appendix. If Suidas had said...*δράματα τραγικά ιζ'· τὰ πάντα ἔπη κ,δ. καὶ ἐπιγράμματα κτλ.* all would be well; but he does not.

There was a very good reason for excluding the epigrams from the main list. They must have been few in number, not enough to form a *βιβλίον*. Only one, of two lines, survives; and in view of the comprehensiveness of the Anthology the disappearance of the rest is fairly strong proof that they were not many in all.

The last item of the list proper then is *δράματα τραγικά ιζ'*. Is

<sup>1</sup> "Oratione soluta," Bernhardt.

<sup>2</sup> See Schröder's edition of Pindar, pp. 387—8.

it likely that Suidas would have gone on to the miscellanea without some particle to mark the transition? Suppose he marked it by *καὶ*: how is the loss of *καὶ* to be explained? It so happens that *ιζ'*, which immediately precedes *ἐπιγράμματα*, is suspicious. To no other of the seventeen books is the number of pieces in it added. Some scholars therefore eject *ιζ'* as a repetition of the *ιζ'* at the beginning of the list, where it is the total of the books. Such a repetition is not very likely. A better remedy is to suppose that *ιζ'* came from one of the common compendia for *καὶ*, a kappa with a curl beneath the last stroke<sup>1</sup>. The top stroke of the *zeta* may be a survival of the grave accent of *καὶ*. The corruption would of course be helped by the fact that *ιζ'* had occurred not long before. If this explanation is right, Suidas' list originally ended thus :...*δράματα τραγικά. καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπικά, καὶ καταλογάδην παραινέσεις τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα.*

The only epigram which is ascribed to Pindar is this<sup>2</sup>:

*χαῖρε δις ἠβήσας καὶ δις τάφου ἀντιβολήσας,  
Ἡσίοδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης.*

The language is not the Doric of his odes but Ionic, and not the Ionic of Herodotus and Hippocrates, but the Ionic of Homer and *epic*. Though this couplet is probably not by Pindar, its dialect is that in which his genuine epigrams were probably written; for though a local dialect was occasionally used for epigrams in early times, the Ionic of epic is very much more common. Now Suidas heads his main list of the seventeen lyric books with an indication of their dialect: *Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ*. All that survives of Pindar is written in Doric except this one epigram. What more likely than that on coming to the epigrams Suidas or his authority should mention that they were not written in Doric like the lyric poems but in the epic dialect? Thus *ἐπικά* might conceivably mean "in the epic dialect." If it does not mean that, it means nothing. The Greek scholars must have felt the need of some word to denote the epic dialect as distinct from pure Ionic, and *ἐπικός* and *ἐπικῶς* were very natural words to choose. Even if the adjective cannot stand in Suidas, the change to *ἐπικῶς* is slight.

<sup>1</sup> See Bast's *Commentatio Palaeographica*; E. M. Thompson's *Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 93. Other contractions of *καὶ* might have caused the corruption as well as this.

<sup>2</sup> Schröder's edition, p. 496.

ἐπικῶς in Suidas' note on Theognis and ἐπικᾷ in his note on Pindar support each other, and make it at least possible that both are used with reference to dialect<sup>1</sup>.

## APPENDIX III.

## THEOGNIS AND TYRTAEUS.

UNTIL a few years ago the common opinion of the learned put Tyrtaeus in the obscurity of the seventh century before Christ. Since 1896 his career has been placed by one scholar in the Messenian war which began about 464, by another in a revolt of the Messenians at the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth; another has thought fit to condemn the poems which bear his name as an Athenian forgery made during the Peloponnesian war; and another has shewn that the Laotychidas who is connected with the story of Tyrtaeus is not necessarily the conqueror of the Persians but possibly an earlier king, the fourth after Theopompus and the fifth before the victor of Mycale<sup>2</sup>.

Now in discussing those poems of the Theognidean collection which resemble passages of Tyrtaeus I have taken it for granted that Theognis was the later poet of the two. He certainly was so if Tyrtaeus lived in the seventh century or in the time of the first Laotychidas; and even if he flourished about 500, his poems may still have been known to Theognis, who saw at least the Persian invasion of 490. Tyrtaeus was later than Theognis only if Dr Verrall is right in connecting him with the Messenian war which broke

<sup>1</sup> If such is the meaning of ἐπικᾷ, Suidas divided Pindar's writings into three classes, of which the first was vastly more important than the other two: (1) poems (lyric) in Doric, (2) poems (epigrams) in the epic dialect, (3) prose.

<sup>2</sup> See A. W. Verrall in the *Classical Review*, x. (1896) pp. 269 ff.; R. W. Macan in the same, xi. (1897) pp. 10 ff.; A. W. Verrall in the same, pp. 185 ff.; W. N. Bates in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, xxviii. (1897) pp. xlii. ff.; E. Schwartz in *Hermes*, xxxiv. (1899) pp. 428 ff.; H. Weil's *Études sur l'Antiquité grecque*, pp. 193 ff.; J. Beloch in *Hermes*, xxxv. (1900) pp. 254 ff.

out about 464. My reasons for not accepting this date are these.

Firstly, what we know of the war of 464 leaves little room for Tyrtæus. Athens sent Cimon with troops, not Tyrtæus with songs, to the Spartans' aid.

Secondly, the victor of Mycale was banished from Sparta in 469. Thus, until 'the spurious analogy inserted in Herodotus' is finally condemned, we must suppose that the poet Rhianus was referring to the earlier king when he said that in the time of Aristomenes the king of Sparta was Laotychidas.

Thirdly, something may still be said about the passage of Lycurgus<sup>1</sup> which led Dr Verrall to his change of date. How does Lycurgus account for the Spartans' petition which caused Tyrtæus to be sent? More precisely, to what does *τοιγαροῦν*<sup>2</sup> refer? Not, I think, to the renown which the Athenians won at Marathon, but to an older renown which they would have forfeited if they had yielded to Persia in 490. οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ μέγα φρονούντες, says the orator, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ταύτης ἄξια πράττειν. That he thought of Marathon only as one example (though the finest) of the self-sacrificing heroism of the Athenians, he shews by his use of γοῦν and of the imperfects ἐπετῆδενον and ἐπεδείκνυντο<sup>4</sup>. Like the battle of Marathon, the recitation of Homer at the Panathenaea is mentioned only as the best example of something more. Lessons from Homer read once every four years can hardly have had by themselves much educational effect; but they betokened and ratified a widespread habit of taking Homer for guide. It is to this habit and the spirit which engendered it that I would refer the words *τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἦσαν ἄνδρες σπουδαῖοι καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ οἱ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες*; and I should be loth to say that Lycurgus could not have extended the habit and the spirit as far back as the seventh century or the beginning of the sixth.

For these reasons I feel justified in assuming that Tyrtæus wrote before Theognis. But what did he write? The question of the authenticity of the Tyrtæan poems has recently been discussed

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Review*, x. p. 276, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *In Leocratem*, §§ 102—110.

<sup>3</sup> The first word of § 105.

<sup>4</sup> γοῦν and τοιγαροῦν are similarly used to connect a general proposition, a particular example, and the return to the general proposition, in §§ 86—88: καὶ οὕτως ἦσαν...γενναῖοι οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες.... φασὶ γοῦν τὸν Κόδρον.... τοιγαροῦν μονώτατοι ἐπώνυμοι τῆς χώρας εἶναι....

by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff<sup>1</sup>, who decides that 'the book Tyrtaeus which Plato and Lycurgus had read was related to the true Tyrtaeus as our Theognis is related to the true Theognis'; that is to say, it contained authentic poems, remodellings of authentic poems, and poems in which Tyrtaeus had no hand. We are concerned with this opinion here only in so far as it touches what Bergk calls fragment 12, the poem which contains the two passages on which lines 933—8 and 1003—6 of Theognis are based. This elegy is not by Tyrtaeus, says Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and its completeness excludes the thought of a remodelling; it contains nothing Spartan, and nothing archaic except μάλιον. But his criticisms do not seem to prove, and nobody is likely to prove, that it could not have been written, for instance, between 550 and 500; and for my argument it matters not where or by whom it was written, but only that it was known to Theognis. Thus the connexion which I have endeavoured to trace between this elegy and the lines of Theognis requires neither acceptance nor rejection of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's views.

## APPENDIX IV.

## LINES 903—30.

THE only poem in our collection which can safely be condemned on grounds of language is lines 903—30.

903. ἀνάλωσιν appears only here and in Thucydides vi. 31. 5. It is correctly formed, however, and ἀνάλωμα occurs in Aeschylus. θηρῶν is generally regarded as corrupt, but no good conjecture has been made. To read Θηρῶν, as some suggest, is to imply that 903—30 are more than one poem, since in 923 the poet addresses himself to one Democles. The only place where division is even possible is after 904. This would leave us with one poem of two lines and another of twenty-six. But 903—4 can scarcely have

<sup>1</sup> *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker*, pp. 197 ff. (in the *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band iv. Nro. 3. 1900.*)

<sup>2</sup> P. 115. Compare Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion*, p. 46.

stood by themselves in any poet, certainly not in Theognis. Either they are a platitude, or they are the introduction to a discussion of ways and means. Even if *Θηρῶν* were read, it should not be referred to the tyrant of Agrigentum, the last person in the world to whom such a poem would be addressed.

904. *κυδίστην ἀρετὴν* may be defended by comparison with Aeschylus, *Supplices* 13, *κύνιστ' ἀχέων*: Bacchylides i. 25, *ὁ δ' εὖ ἔρδων θεοὺς ἐλπιδι κυδροτέρῃ σαίνει κέαρ*.

905. In *κατιδεῖν* the preposition has lost its force. In Homer *καθορᾶν* always means "to look *down* upon"; and so probably in the hymn to the Delian Apollo, 137: *Δῆλος...καθορῶσα Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γανέθλην*—the craggy island *looks down* upon the god. So probably in Pindar, *Pythian* ix. 49, where Chiron says to Apollo: *χῶπι μέλλει χῶπόθεν ἔσσεται εὖ καθορᾶς*—"from thy lofty height," says Professor Gildersleeve. "Apollo is a *σκοπός*, and *κατά* is not effaced." Certainly *καθορᾶν* has its proper force in Aeschylus, *Supplices* 1059: *τί δὰ μέλλω φρένα διὰν καθορᾶν, ὅψιν ἄβυσσον*;—where *ἄβυσσον* shews that *καθορᾶν* means "to look *down* into." It does not seem to mean merely "to perceive" before Euripides, fragment 965; Aristophanes, *Knights* 803. So perhaps in Herodotus ix. 59, and certainly in Plato, *Laws* x. 905 b.

908. A has *φείδεσθαι μᾶλλον τοῦτονιν εἶχε βίον*. All other manuscripts have *τοῦτον δν*, which is accepted by Bergk and Sitzler. Turnebus proposed *βίου*. Bekker followed A and read *τοῦτον ἵν' εἶχε βίον*. This is to be preferred. *τοῦτον* will then refer to *ὅς*, and the imperfect after *ἵνα* is due to the fact that the *ἵνα* clause depends on an unreal condition in present time. 907—8 will then mean: "it would be natural for the man who had longer time to await his fate to spare rather than spend, that he might have substance for it." The slight change of *τοῦτον* to *τούτῳ* would perhaps be an improvement—*τούτῳ* referring to *πλείῳ χρόνον*: "that he might have substance for that term." But the poem is so bad that attempts to improve it by emendation are hardly justified.

913. *δαπανᾶν* does not occur in the Homeric poems, Hesiod, Pindar, Bacchylides, or the tragic poets. It belongs essentially to prose. Pindar is so fond of *δαπάνη* that if the verb had existed in his time he would probably have used it. *τρήχω βίον* must mean "drag out a dull existence." There is perhaps no parallel to this in Greek literature. The Homeric use of *τρήχω* and *κατατρήχω* would suggest for *τρήχω βίον* the meaning "waste my substance," the con-

trary of what our passage requires. Thus 913 presents a ridiculous ambiguity.

916. σῖτον ἐλευθέριον, food fit for an ἐλεύθερος. Such an expression is almost incredible in Theognis, who uses ἐλευθέριον once only, in 538, where it has a very natural meaning.

918. οὐπιτυχών. ἐπιτυχάνω does not seem to occur elsewhere before Euripides, who uses it once only, in *Heracles* 1248: εἶρηκας ἐπιτυχόντος ἀνθρώπου λόγους. ὁ ἐπιτυχών, ὁ τυχών, ὁ ἐπιών are thus used in prose.

919. ἐς ἄκαιρα πονεῖν, "waste his labour." ἄκαιρα λέγειν and ἀκαίρως πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα are found in Aeschylus, but the combination ἐς ἄκαιρα seems to be unexampled.

921. ὑπάγω intransitive is found only in prose, comedy and satyric drama (Euripides, *Cyclops* 52), but in early poetry only here.

922. πτωχεύει φίλους πάντας. Elsewhere πτωχεύω takes an accusative of the alms only, never of the giver.

925—6 are unintelligible in the manuscripts, and the attempts that have been made to emend them into some sense have not had much success.

928. ἐν τοιῷδε γένει χρήματ' ἔχειν has been taken to mean "manage one's money on this principle." But surely the line must mean: "among such men as these it is best to have money." With these words the poet begins the conclusion of his tiresome argument. Money is best after all, for money makes friends. Even thus, however, τοιῷδε γένει is strangely abrupt.

The evidence of language is supported by the evidence of style. The writer is possessed of a certain facile badness which is quite unlike Theognis. The whole poem is prosaic in the extreme. Bergk thinks it the work of some one divided by no long interval of time from the man who made our collection. But at the time when Bergk supposes our collection to have been made good and intelligible Greek was still being written. Probably the poem is the pastime of some late scholar moderately familiar with Homeric and Attic idiom but incapable of reproducing it. If he or any one else desired to foist it upon Theognis, no better place could have been chosen than just before 931—2, a cynical couplet well worthy of our poet. ἀποκλαίει of 931 has the authority of one passage of Aeschylus and two of Sophocles.

It must be remembered, however, that this poem is unique in our collection for the badness of its language and style. To admit



that here and there poems by other authors have been introduced into the text of Theognis is not to admit that the text is a patchwork of poems by many hands. From interpolation of one kind or another few classical writers have remained quite free.

## APPENDIX V.

### THEOGNIS AND THE WRITERS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

PINDAR was born according to the common account in 521, according to Mommsen and Bergk in 518. He was therefore at least twenty-seven years old when Theognis wrote lines 773—88, and he may have been as much as forty. He died at the age of eighty. Thus perhaps about half his life fell in the lifetime of Theognis. Theognis lived for a time in exile at Thebes<sup>1</sup>, so that Pindar was probably familiar with his poems, perhaps with the poet himself.

There are a few almost certain references to Theognis in Pindar.

*Nemean* viii. 17: σὺν θεῷ γάρ τοι φυτευθεὺς ὄλβος ἀνθρώποισι παρμονώτερος. Compare Theognis 197—8. As von Leutsch remarks, the use of παρμόνιμον in the one and of παρμονώτερος in the other puts their connexion beyond doubt, for these are the first appearances of the two words. They had a singularly short life in classical Greek. Besides the passage of Pindar παράμονος occurs only once, in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. Besides the passage of Theognis παραμόνιμος occurs only in Pindar, *Pythian* vii. 21; twice in the *Memorabilia*, and once in the *Theages*. The passage of the seventh Pythian is instructive:

νεία δ' εὐπραγία χαίρω τι· τὸ δ' ἄχνημαι,  
φθόνον ἀμειβόμενον  
τὰ καλὰ ἔργα. φαντί γε μὰν  
οὕτω κεν ἀνδρὶ παρμονίμαν  
θάλλουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν  
τὰ καὶ τὰ φέρεσθαι.

It seems best to connect οὕτω with παρμονίμαν, which is of course to be taken predicatively with θάλλουσιν. τὰ καὶ τὰ will then mean

<sup>1</sup> L. 1209.

'envy as well as praise,' and the meaning of the whole will be something like this: 'Some joy I have of thy new success, but sorrow for one thing, that envy is the requital for glorious deeds. Howbeit they say that good fortune blooming thus unceasingly must win for a man both portions.'

In Theognis 397—8 we read: 'The bad man's mind accordeth neither with good nor with ill, but the good man must bear with either lot':

τοῦ δ' αὖτ' οὔτε κακοῖς ἔπεται νόος οὔτ' ἀγαθοῖσι.  
τὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν τολμᾶν χρή τὰ τε καὶ τὰ φέρειν.

τὰ τε καὶ τὰ may refer directly to the neuter plurals κακοῖς and ἀγαθοῖσιν of 397; but Pindar's use of the phrase suggests that here also it is vague, referring to no expressed antecedents.

It is scarcely possible to regard the resemblance between the passage of Theognis and the passage of Pindar as due to chance. The form of words τὰ καὶ τὰ or τὰ τε καὶ τὰ occurs first in this line of Theognis. In Pindar it is by no means common, occurring six times in all. Of these six the present passage is the oldest, whether the seventh Pythian ode belongs to 490, the year of Marathon, or to 486. It seems possible that by φαντι Pindar refers especially to line 398 of Theognis, and uses the Theognidean expressions παρμονίμην and τὰ καὶ τὰ with the purpose of laying stress on this reference. Pindar has changed φέρειν, 'bear,' to φέρεσθαι, 'win,' keeping the verbal resemblance and at the same time introducing an oxymoron.

Thus the history of παραμόνιμος and παράμονος is this. Before Theognis they are not found. Theognis used παρμόνιμος once. Pindar used παρμόνιμος once and πάρμονος once, in both cases just because παρμόνιμος was a word peculiar to Theognis. Then both words vanish from literature for about a hundred years. In prose of the fourth century they appear four times<sup>1</sup>. After that they are found no more in good Greek.

Let us now consider the five other passages of Pindar where τὰ καὶ τὰ occurs.

*Isthmian* v. 46—53:

πολλὰ μὲν ἀρτιεπὴς  
γλώσσά μοι τοξέυματ' ἔχει περὶ κείνων

<sup>1</sup> Valckenaer reads παραμόνιμος for παράμονος in *Memorabilia* ii. 10. 3, thus eliminating παράμονος from all classical Greek except the passage of Pindar. This may be right.

κελαδέμεν· καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἄρει  
μαρτυρήσαι κεν πόλις Αἴαντος ὀρθωθείσα ναύταις  
ἐν πολυφθόρῳ Σαλαμὶς Διὸς ὄμβρῳ  
ἀναρίθμων ἀνδρῶν χαλαζέεντι φόνῳ.  
ἀλλ' ὅμως καύχασμα κατὰβρεχε σιγᾷ·  
Ζεὺς τὰ τε καὶ τὰ νέμει,  
Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κύριος.

Compare Theognis 419—20, 669—70, 815—6. The idea, apparently first found in Theognis, was one of which he was fond.

*Isthmian* iv. 30—35:

τῶν ἀπειράτων γὰρ ἄγνωτοι σιωπαί.  
ἔστιν δ' ἀφάνεια τύχας καὶ μαρναμένων,  
πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι.  
τῶν τε γὰρ καὶ τῶν διδοῖ·  
καὶ κρέσσον' ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων  
ἔσφαλε τέχνα καταμάρψαις'.

With the first line compare 797—8 of Theognis; with the third line compare 594; with the last two lines compare 329.

*Olympian* ii. 51—54:

τὸ δὲ τυχεῖν  
πειρώμενον ἀγωνίας δυσφρονᾶν παραλύει.  
ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος  
φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν  
καιρόν.

Pindar may be thinking of 129—130 of Theognis, which speak of ἀρετή, ἄφενος and τύχη.

*Nemean* i. 25—32:

τέχνη δ' ἐτέρων ἕτεροι· χρῆ δ' ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα  
μάρνασθαι φυᾷ.  
πράσσει γὰρ ἔργῳ μὲν σθένος,  
βουλαῖσι δὲ φρήν, ἐσσύμενον προιδεῖν  
συγγενὲς οἷς ἔπεται.  
Ἄγησιδάμου παῖ, σέο δ' ἀμφὶ τρόπῳ  
τῶν τε καὶ τῶν χρήσιες.  
οὐκ ἔραμαι πολὺν ἐν μεγάρῳ πλοῦτον κατακρύψαις ἔχειν,  
ἀλλ' ἐόντων εὖ τε παθεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι φίλοις ἐξαρκέων.

With the last two lines compare Theognis 1155 and 871, οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν and εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τοῖσιν μὲν ἐπαρκέσω οἱ με φιλεῦσι.

With the first six lines compare 393—8, of which the last couplet was quoted above. The resemblance is rather of words than of thought. εὐθείαις...φυῆ answers to ἰθείαις...ἐμπεφύη, φρήν to φρονεῖ νόος, ἔπεται to ἔπεται, τῶν τε καὶ τῶν το τὰ τε καὶ τὰ. Thus for the fifth time Pindar uses τὰ καὶ τὰ or τὰ τε καὶ τὰ in a passage which may owe something to Theognis.

*Pythian* v. 54—57:

πόνων δ' οὐ τις ἀπόκλαρός ἐστιν οὐτ' ἔσεται·  
ὁ Βάπτου δ' ἔπεται παλαιὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων,  
πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεινότατον  
ξένουσι.

With οὐ τις...ἐστιν οὐτ' ἔσεται compare Theognis 801: οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐτ' ἔσεται οὔτε πέφυκεν.... With πύργος ἄστεος compare 233: ἀκρόπολις καὶ πύργος ἐὼν κενεόφρονι δῆμῳ. The metaphor was also used by Alcaeus, and already in Homer Ajax is πύργος Ἀχαιοῖς. Thus connexion with Theognis cannot be proved here. It is to be observed that the fifth Pythian is one of the latest of the extant odes.

We started from an imitation of Theognis in line 17 of the eighth Nemean ode. A little later in the same poem, in lines 37—9, is another echo of Theognis which seems to have been missed:

χρυσὸν εὐχονται, πεδίον δ' ἕτεροι  
ἀπέραντον, ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδῶν καὶ χθονὶ γυνὴ καλύψαι,  
αἰνέων αἰνητά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς.

With ἀστοῖς ἀδῶν compare Theognis 24: ἀστοῖσιν γ' οὐπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι, and 367—8:

οὐ δύναμαι γινῶναι νόον ἀστῶν, ὃν τιν' ἔχουσιν·  
οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς.

This resemblance might pass for an accident but that the first line of the passage of Pindar resembles 719—20:

Ἰσὸν τοι πλουτοῦσιν, ὅτῃ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστι  
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρου πεδία.

πεδίον ἀπέραντον is not in itself a natural expression for "boundless estates." The only similar use of πεδίον in the Homeric poems or in Hesiod is *Odyssey* iii. 421: ἀλλ' ἄγ' ὁ μὲν πεδίονδ' ἐπὶ βοῦν ἵτω; 430: ἦλθε μὲν ἄρ βοῦς ἐκ πεδίου. But the fact that the cow was to be found on the πεδίον does not prove that πεδίον meant a farm or pasture-land. Theognis defines his meaning by γῆς πυροφόρου.

It would perhaps not be too much to say that *πειδίον* in the passage of Pindar is only made completely intelligible by the reminiscence of Theognis. This connexion of course rests on the assumption that 719—20 are not a poem of Solon's, but a poem modelled on Solon's by Theognis. This assumption receives some support from the fact that Pindar has another reminiscence of Theognis in this passage (*ἄστοις ἀδών*) and from his other imitations of our poet.

*Olympian* iii. 44: τὸ πρόσω δ' ἐστὶ σοφοῖς ἄβατον κασόφους. Compare 369—70 of Theognis:

μυμῆνται δέ με πολλοὶ ὁμῶς κακοὶ ἤδ' ἐκαστοί,  
μυμῆσθαι δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀσώφων δύναται.

Besides these two passages *ἄσοφος* occurs once in Euripides and once in Xenophon, but never again before Diodorus. It is never a mere synonym of *ἄφρων*; it is always used for the sake of antithesis, expressed or implied, with *σοφός*<sup>1</sup>. Thus in Theognis and Pindar the *ἄσοφοι* are the laymen, the uninspired, in contrast with the poets, who are *σοφοί*. The word never passed into common use. Hence its appearance in the two contemporary poets makes it probable that one coined it and the other borrowed it from him.

With *Pythian* ii. 96, ἀδόντα δ' εἶη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁμιλεῖν, compare 31—34 of Theognis. With *Pythian* iv. 287—9:

φαντὶ δ' ἔμμεν  
τοῦτ' ἀνιάρωτατον, καλὰ γινώσκοντ' ἀνάγκη  
ἐκτὸς ἔχειν πόδα—

compare 419—20 and 667—70. With *Nemean* v. 16—18:

οὐ τοὶ ἅπαντα κερδίων  
φαίνουσα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει' ἀτρεκής·  
καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι—

<sup>1</sup> In Euripides, *Electra* 1302, Φοῖβου τ' ἄσοφοι γλώσσης ἐνοπαί, it means "unworthy of the God of wisdom": compare 1245—6:

Φοῖβοι δέ, Φοῖβοι—ἀλλ' ἀναξ γάρ ἐστ' ἐμός,  
σιγῶ· σοφὸς δ' ὢν οὐκ ἐχρησέ σοι σοφά.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia* iii. 9. 4: σοφούς τε καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς...ἀσώφους τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς. Diodorus ii. 29. 3: φιλοσοφοῦσι followed by οὐκ ἀσώφως. S. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, v. 15: μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι ἀλλ' ὡς σοφοί. Plutarch, *περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης*, 8: φιλόσοφος, followed by ἀσώφου καὶ τετυφωμένης. So the noun *ἄσοφια* means failure in the part of *σοφός*: Lucian, *περὶ τῆς ἀστρολογίας*, 2; Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 29.

compare 421—4. With *Nemean* vii. 54—56:

φυῆ δ' ἕκαστοι διαφέρομεν βιοτὰν λαχόντες,  
ὁ μὲν τὰ, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι· τυχεῖν δ' ἐν' ἀδύνατον  
εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον—

compare 441, 991—2. With *Isthmian* i. 5, τί φίλτερον κενῶν τοκέων ἀγαθοῖς; compare 131—2. Fragment 42 of Pindar, like 355—60 of Theognis, advises concealment of misfortune.

For other less certain echoes of Theognis in Pindar see 845—6 and *Pythian* iv. 272—3, 1079—80 and *Pythian* ix. 93—6, 313—4 and *Pythian* iii. 107—8, 655—6 and *Nemean* i. 53—4, 213—8 and fragment 43. The language of *Pythian* x. 30—42 has some likeness to that of 761—8 and 776—9 of Theognis, but perhaps not more than description of the accompaniments of the worship of Apollo necessarily involved.

This evidence seems to shew that Pindar was well acquainted with the poetry of Theognis. Some of his imitations have the look of complimentary quotation, which would imply that the poets were friends.

Contemporary with Pindar was Bacchylides. If the Simonides to whom Theognis wrote 469, 667 and 1349 is the poet of Ceos, his nephew Bacchylides may perhaps have met Theognis. The latter half of his first ode is full of reminiscences of the poet of Megara. With 21—23 and 43—46 compare Theognis 865—8, 463—4, 149—50, 315—8 (the last a passage adapted by Theognis from Solon); with 27—33 compare 255—6, the *Δηλιακὸν ἐπίγραμμα*. iii. 88—91, like 1003—12 of Theognis, contrast virtue, which never fades, with youth, which cannot be renewed. With v. 53—55 compare 441. v. 160—2 repeat the famous sentiment which Theognis, in 425—6, was perhaps the first to express; and Bacchylides, unlike Sophocles, has words to represent the pentameter as well as the hexameter. Compare further 1117—8 of Theognis with x. 49—51 of Bacchylides, 1183—4 with xiii. 169—70, 401—2 with xiv. 16—18, 1048 with xvii. 46, 696 with fragment 54, 167 with fragment 50<sup>1</sup>.

Panyasis, who was put to death about the year 457, has several echoes of our poet, one of them noticed by Clement of Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> φιλοξένος in iii. 16 of Bacchylides supports φιλοξενίης in 1358 of Theognis, which has been suspected without cause.

The following lines look like a sort of answer to 971—2:

ξέν' ἄγε δὴ καὶ πῖν'· ἀρετὴ νύ τις ἔστι καὶ αὐτῇ,  
ὅς κ' ἀνδρῶν πολὺ πλείστον ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ μέθυ πίνῃ  
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, ἅμα δ' ἄλλον φῶτα κελεύῃ.

Of the imitations of Theognis in tragedy one is worth quoting.  
Euripides, *Phoenissae* 438—40:

πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθέν, ἀλλ' ὁμως ἔρῳ·  
τὰ χρήματ' ἀνθρώποισι τιμωτάτα,  
δύναμιν τε πλείστην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔχει.

The words *πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθέν* suggest that Euripides was definitely referring to Theognis, 717—8.

Imitations of Theognis in the old comedy are few but important. Athenaeus, viii. p. 364 A—C, writes as follows...*ἐπὶ νοῦν οὐ λαμβάνοντες τὰ εἰρημμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸν Χείρωνα πεποιηκότος, εἴτε Φερεκράτης ἔστιν εἴτε Νικόμαχος ὁ ῥυθμικὸς ἢ ὅστις δὴ ποτε*.

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἄνδρα φίλον καλέσας ἐπὶ δαῖτα θάλειαν  
ἄχθου ὀρών παρεόντα· κακὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ τόδε ῥέζει·  
ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκλος τέρπου φρένα τέρπε τ' ἐκείνου.

*νῦν δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως μέμνηται, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνουσιν, ἅπερ πάντα ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ἡσίοδον ἀναφερομένων μεγάλων Ἡοίων καὶ μεγάλων Ἑργῶν πεπαρψόδηται*.

ἡμῶν δ' ἦν τινὰ τις καλέσῃ θύων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον,  
ἀχθόμεθ' ἦν ἔλθῃ καὶ ὑποβλέπομεν παρεόντα,  
χῶτι τάχιστα θύραζ' ἐξελθεῖν βουλόμεθ' αὐτόν.  
εἶτα γνούς πως τοῦθ' ὑποδεῖται, κῆτά τις εἶπε  
τῶν ξυμπινόντων, "Ἦδη σύ; τί οὐχ ὑποπίνεις;  
οὐχ ὑπολύσεις αὐτόν;" ὃ δ' ἄχθεται αὐτὸς ὁ θύων  
τῷ κατακωλύοντι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔλεξ' ἐλεγεία·  
'Μηδένα μῆτ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν  
μῆθ' εὐδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδῃ·' οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οἴνοισι  
τοιαυτὴ λέγομεν δειπνίζοντες φίλον ἄνδρα;

What part imitation of Hesiod plays in this we cannot say; but *ἐλεγεία* shews that the words *μηδένα...Σιμωνίδῃ* are quoted from an elegiac poem of which the pentameters are omitted; and this poem can only be Theognis 467 ff.:

μηδένα τῶνδ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν,  
μηδὲ θύραζε κέλευ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντ' ἵεναι,

μηδ' εὐδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδῃ, ὃν τιν' ἂν ἡμῶν  
 θωρηχθέντ' οἶνφ μαλθακὸς ὕπνος ἔλῃ.

The majority of the evidence ascribes the *Chiron* to Pherecrates, who probably won his first victory in 438. This suggests that he was born not later than 460. The birth of the younger Euenus is perhaps to be put in this very year 460, so that Euenus and Pherecrates were contemporaries. It is not impossible that Pherecrates should have quoted from an elegist not older than himself, but at least it is more likely that he should put old-established lines into the mouth of his host. Thus this passage supports, or at least does not contradict, the evidence of our text.

A reference to Theognis in 1362—3 of the *Birds* was considered above. Lines 1342—3 of the *Wasps* perhaps refer to an obscene interpretation of 1362 of Theognis. This suggests that the Μοῦσα παιδική may have had a certain vogue among the baser sort. In Theognis it is very unlikely that obscenity was designed.

In Thucydides a doubtful imitation of Theognis is observed by a scholiast, and another by Clement. Herodotus has one almost certain imitation of Theognis, in iii. 82: ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἔχθρα ἴδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλεῖ ἐγγίνεσθαι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμησιν τε νικᾶν ἐς ἔχθρα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνέονται, ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασιῶν φόνος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μοναρχίην. Compare 43—52 of Theognis, especially the last couplet.

## APPENDIX VI.

## ΘΩΡΗΣΣΩ.

In line 842 *θωρήσσω* means 'to make drunk':

οἶνος ἐμοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαρίζεται, ἐν δ' ἀχάριστος,  
 εὖτ' ἂν θωρήξας μ' ἄνδρα πρὸς ἐχθρὸν ἄγῃ.

The passive occurs four times, in 413, 470, 508 and 884, meaning 'to become warmed with wine,' 'to get drunk.' Compare Pindar, fragment 72: ἀλόχφ ποτὲ θωραχθεὶς ἔπεχ' ἄλλοτρίῳ Ὀαρίων<sup>1</sup>. For the

<sup>1</sup> See Bergk's or Schröder's note.



same meaning the lexicons refer to Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1135, in the passage where Dikaiopolis mimics Lamachos :

ΑΑ. φέρε δεῦρο, παῖ, θώρακα πολεμοστῆριον.

ΔΙ. ἔξαιρε, παῖ, θώρακα κάμοι τὸν χῶα.

ΑΑ. ἐν τῷδε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θωρήξομαι.

ΔΙ. ἐν τῷδε πρὸς τοὺς συμπότας θωρήξομαι.

But though Aristophanes doubtless had this meaning of *θωρήσω* in his mind, he could have used the word as he does here if it had never before been used with reference to drink. The scholiast on this passage has the following note: *θωρήξασθαι γάρ ἐστι τὸ καθοπλισθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πίνειν καὶ μεθύειν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ θώραξ καὶ τὸ στῆθος· διὰ τὸ θερμαίνειν οὖν τὸ στῆθος θωρήσσειν λέγουσιν καὶ τὸ μεθύειν, καὶ θώρακας τοὺς ἀκρομεθύσους ἐκάλουν. κέχρηται δὲ τῇ λέξει καὶ Ἀνακρέων. ἔστι δὲ Ἀττική*<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere *θωρήσω* is used thus only in the medical writings of Hippocrates, Galen and Nicander, who have also the noun *θώρηξ*<sup>2</sup>.

Did Theognis take the word from the technical vocabulary of medicine or from slang? No doubt it passed from slang to medicine: had it done so before Theognis wrote? In 174 he uses another medical term, *ἡπιάλος*, 'hot ague,' which occurs nowhere else in serious poetry; and in 432 he mentions the *Ἀσκληπιάδαι*. Taken together the three words *θωρήσω*, *ἡπιάλος* and *Ἀσκληπιάδαι* suggest that for some reason or other Theognis felt more than an ordinary interest in medical matters; and it is therefore probable that he borrowed *θωρήσω* from the vocabulary of medicine.

Of the five lines, 413, 470, 508, 842 and 884, in which *θωρήσω* appears, the first and the fourth belong to poems which Bergk does not suspect; the second to a poem which many ascribe to Euenus; the third to a poem ascribed by Bergk to Thaletas, by von Leutsch to Panyasis; the fifth to a poem assigned by Bergk to Tyrtæus, by others to Polymnestus or Chilon. Let us assume that Bergk is right in each case. Then *θωρήσω* was used with reference to wine by Theognis of Megara, Euenus of Paros, Thaletas of Crete,

<sup>1</sup> Bergk, *Anacreontis Carminum Reliquiae*, fragment cxvii.: "Ex his scholiastæ verbis non satis apparet utrum Anacreon *θωρήσειν* an *θώραξ* dixerit." Probably from *κέχρηται* onwards the scholiast is speaking of *θώραξ* only, since *θώραξ*, but not *θωρήσω*, is an Attic form. Compare Bergk, *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> iii. p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Galen: *τὴν μὲν ψύξιν ἢ θώρηξιν λύει, τούτέστιν ἦτοι ἀπλῶς οἶνον πρὸς ἡ ἀκρατεστέρου.*

Tyrtaeus. Thaletas was contemporary with Lycurgus; Euenus perhaps with Socrates, though in Bergk's opinion lines 467—96 belong to the older Euenus. However that may be, *θωρήσσω* was thus used in poetry from the time of Lycurgus to the time of Theognis and Pindar, in the beginning of the fifth century. It was used by poets of various cities—that is to say, it was the common property of Greek poetry—during several hundreds of years. Then why does it survive nowhere but in the Theognidean collection? Why not in the remains of Archilochus or Alcaeus or other poets who speak of wine? We are asked to believe in a strange caprice of fortune, whereby a word that was used by several poets, and might have been used by any one poet during a long period, has survived only in five passages of an anthology of thirteen hundred lines. Is it not more likely that the use of *θωρήσσω* in its medical sense was the peculiarity of *one* poet, the same who used the medical term *ἡπίαλος*? Pindar may have borrowed this, as he borrowed much besides, from Theognis. Anacreon, the only authority for the noun *θύραξ* in the meaning “drunkard,” was contemporary with Theognis and Pindar.

## APPENDIX VII.

## THE LELANTIAN PLAIN. (See p. 286.)

THE discussion of this question would be incomplete without some reference to K. F. Hermann's essay *On the Struggles between Chalcis and Eretria for the Lelantian Plain*<sup>1</sup>. He rejects the opinion put forward but apparently afterwards abandoned by K. O. Müller, that the war between Chalcis and Eretria was intimately connected with a division of Greece into two large parties—on the one side Argos, Thebes, Aegina, Arcadia, Pisa, Histiaea, Chalcis; on the other Sparta, Athens, Plataea, Corinth, Mycenae, Epidaurus, Elis, Thespieae, Eretria, Miletus<sup>2</sup>. The history of the struggle between Sparta and Argos for the possession of Cynuria, together with other

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 189—200 of his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur classischen Litteratur und Alterthumskunde*.

<sup>2</sup> This is quite incompatible with the passage of Thucydides quoted above.

evidence, convinces him that there was more than one struggle between Chalcis and Eretria for the possession of the plain. With the first of these wars of which any trace remains is connected the poetical contest wherein Hesiod defeated Homer<sup>1</sup>. In another there is mentioned a Pharsalian named Cleomachus and his *παιδικά*, a Chalcidian of Thrace<sup>2</sup>; so that this war must have been later than the colonization of Thrace by the Euboeans, which began perhaps not before 740 B.C. Others probably followed<sup>3</sup>.

## APPENDIX VIII.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

219—20:

Μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄσχαλλε ταρασσομένων πολιητέων,  
Κύρνε, μέσσην δ' ἔρχευ τὴν ὁδόν, ὥσπερ ἐγώ.

If *μηδὲν* is an adverb, 'not at all,' it is hardly compatible with *ἄγαν*. Probably it is governed by *ἄσχαλλε*: 'be not much vexed at aught.'<sup>4</sup> Van der Mey translates *μέσσην τὴν ὁδόν* as if it were *τὴν μέσσην ὁδόν*: but the meaning must be 'keep to your path, inclining neither to the right nor to the left.' Theognis does not advise trimming, but perseverance in a chosen policy. The words *ὥσπερ ἐγώ* imply that

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Banquet of the Seven Sages*, ch. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Ἑρωτικός*, ch. 17.

<sup>3</sup> That the quarrel between Chalcis and Eretria lasted till the Persian wars is implied by a passage where Plutarch defends *οἱ μηδιστάντες* (*de malignitate Herodoti*, ch. 35): τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἔχθρας γέλοιόν ἐστιν· οὔτε γὰρ Αἰγινήτας ἐκώλυσε ἢ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διαφορὰ καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἢ πρὸς Ἑρετρίεας καὶ Κορινθίους ἢ πρὸς Μεγαρέας τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμαχεῖν. No recent writer on Theognis has suggested—I am not aware that any one has ever suggested—that the references to Cerinthus and the Lelantian plain are to be taken not literally but metaphorically; as we speak of a man "crossing the Rubicon" or "burning his boats." This is just possible, but very far from probable. We do not speak metaphorically of a man "crossing the narrow stream of the Rubicon," nor would Theognis have spoken metaphorically of "the good wine-land of Lelanton"; the epithets are out of place. K. O. Müller seems to refer 891—2 to the Persian invasion of Euboea. But Herodotus' account gives Darius no time to attack Cerinthus.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Euripides, *Orestes* 785: θάνατον ἄσχάλλον πατρῶν.

when Theognis wrote this couplet he held some important post in the state, perhaps the post of αἰσυμνήτης. But it would be rash to infer that Cynrus too held such a post, for Theognis might have addressed this advice to any man.

In 309—312 the readings of A and O are almost at one; the inferior manuscripts give poor attempts to emend. If εἶναι in 309 is an imperativ infinitive, the indicative δοκεῖ cannot be right in 310, for the change of mood would be intolerably harsh. δόκει is quite out of the question. Thus either δοκοῖ must be read; or, if δοκεῖ is read, εἶναι must depend upon δοκεῖ. Now if the μὲν of 309 is answered by the δὲ which follows θύρηφι in 311 (that is to say, if ἐν συσσίτοισιν is in contrast with θύρηφι), the poem is awkwardly constructed, and the ordinary punctuation is wrong: a comma should be put at the end of 310 and a colon in the middle of 311. But if the μὲν is not answered by this δὲ, it must be answered by the δὲ of 310. If so, ἐν, and to a lesser extent εἶναι, must be emphatic, and the meaning is: 'The prudent man seems to *be among* his boon-companions, but everything seems to escape him as if he were away.' ἐν...εἶναι is contrasted with ἀπρόντα, his bodily presence with his apparent absence of mind. Further, if θύρηφι means 'after he has left the party,' the participial clause which forms 312 is attached to the wrong verb, to εἶη instead of φέροι. Hence Bergk and others would transpose 310 and 312. If the present order of the lines is right, θύρηφι καρτερὸς must mean something like 'outwardly tolerant.' 'Let him supply his share of fun, and be tolerant in outward show, marking each man's spirit the while.'

Line 477 appears in the best manuscripts thus: ἦξω δ' ὡς οἶνος χαριέστατος ἀνδρὶ πεπόσθαι. Athenaeus quotes the line with ἦκω. Two poor manuscripts have δείξω, which is adopted by Bergk and others. Mr H. Richards<sup>1</sup> defends this use of ἦκειν, comparing it with εὖ ἦκειν and κακῶς ἦκειν (to be well or badly off) and three similar uses of the verb in Sophocles. 'In Theognis ὡς οἶνος κ.τ.λ. shews that this is the meaning: he is just in the state which is (to use Hamlet's word) most gracious.' He therefore reads ἦκω with Athenaeus. But will not the future ἦξω serve? It means: 'I *shall* be in the most gracious state (when I reach home).'

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Philology*, xxv. (1897) p. 87.

The difficulties of 511—22 are great, but their solution is not beyond hope. The first question is raised by 513. Memory of such passages as *Odyssey* ix. 99 and xiii. 21 has led some scholars to assume without a doubt that ὑπὸ is a preposition governing ζυγά. If this were so, the line would mean: 'I will put beneath the thwarts, against the ship's sides, such things as I have and such as the gods vouchsafe.' But the dative πλευρῇσιν will hardly bear this local sense; and as the poem clearly supposes that the guest will stay, it would be strange if the host's first words spoke of preparations for his departure. Much more probably ὑπὸ goes with θήσομεν: 'beneath the ship's sides I will put such ζυγά as I have.' What then would these ζυγά be? The word has elsewhere two or three meanings in connexion with ships<sup>1</sup>, but none which suits this passage. If 513—4 are concerned with the poet's arrangements for his guest's accommodation, it is conceivable that 'putting ζυγά beneath the ship's sides' might refer to some means of making the ship fast; perhaps to *props* which would hold it up as it lay beached<sup>2</sup>. It matters little whether the poet is thinking of the actual ship in which Clearistus came, or using a metaphor to express his arrangements for the entertainment of the guest himself.

κατάκειω' in 516, if it is sound, must mean "feast thou *with thy friend*."<sup>3</sup> The poet intends to leave Clearistus and his friend to themselves. Then σῆς ξενίης in 518 would mean "for *your* entertainment of *your* friend." Clearistus is to be allowed an occasional visitor, but the end of the poem warns him that his host cannot provide for a second permanent guest.

Even if these guesses are right, the lines are still not free from fault. Κλεάρισθ' of 514 is painfully close to Κλεάριστε in 511, τῶν ὄντων in 517 to τῶν ὄντων in 515. But in the longer pieces of the Theognidean collection good structure is rare.

The poem may be translated thus: "Through the deep sea hast thou made thy way, Clearistus, bringing naught, poor soul, to me who have naught. Anchorage, be sure, I will give thee, such as I have and such as the gods vouchsafe; and the best of my store I will set forth. And if any friend of thine come hither, feast as thy

<sup>1</sup> See C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*.

<sup>2</sup> The *εργατα* of *Iliad* i. 486, ii. 154, Hymn to the Pythian Apollo 329.

<sup>3</sup> The singular is strange, but compare Horace, *Sermiones* ii. vi. 66:

o noctes cenaeque deum, quibus ipse meique  
ante larem proprium uescor.

friendship bids; naught of my store will I hide away, and no finer fare for thy guest's sake will I bring from elsewhere. And if any ask of my life, thus say to him: 'Ill for bliss and well for woe'. Not his the need to forsake one old friend: not his the power to give bed and board to more'."

I do not know if 567—70 have been rightly understood: they have certainly been translated wrong. In Hertel's edition ὄψομαι is rendered by 'uidebor'<sup>1</sup>; Patin translates δλίσας ψυχὴν 'privé de vie.' But the connexion between ψυχὴν and ἀφθογγος, φάος and ὄψομαι, should not be missed. ψυχὴν has its original meaning 'breath.' 'I shall lose my *breath* and lie *voiceless*; I shall quit the lovely *light* of the sun and *see* no more.'

In 659 A has τοῦτο τί, Ο τοῦτο, the rest τοῦτο τι. The editors are divided between οὐδ' ὁμῶσαι χρὴ τοῦτ' οὐ μήποτε πρῆγμα τόδ' ἔσται and οὐδ' ὁμῶσαι χρὴ τοῦθ' ὅτι μήποτε πρῆγμα τόδ' ἔσται. The latter is nearer the reading of the manuscripts, and should therefore be preferred. On μήποτε see Goodwin's *Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 686, where it will be seen that this use of μή in oaths is as old as Homer.

The long poem 667—82, an allegory addressed to Simonides, in which the state is likened unto a ship, ends thus:

ταῦτά μοι ἡνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι.  
γινώσκου δ' ἂν τις καὶ κακός, ἂν σοφὸς ᾖ.

ἐκ Κέφ τις ἡμέρα; Simonides perhaps could have said; but since Theognis wrote four and twenty centuries ago, one may admit the obscurity of the poem today without incurring the charge of *κακία*. Thus Μηλίον ἐκ πόντου in 672 may be abandoned as a puzzle which we cannot solve<sup>2</sup>. But this at least is still clear, that the metaphor of the ship does not end before 680, and that therefore a nautical meaning should be given to κόσμος, δασμός and φορτηγοί. φορτηγοί

<sup>1</sup> No doubt a proverbial phrase. Compare Cicero *ad Atticum* iv. 1. 8: ita sunt res nostrae—ut in secundis fluxae, ut in adversis bonae.

<sup>2</sup> In Seber's second edition 'videbo' is substituted.

<sup>3</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on Euripides, *Herakles*, 151: "Theognis 672 redet der dichter in einer rätselrede von einer fahrt durch den Μηλιος πόντος' darin verbingt sich etwas bestimmtes, denn die melische see ist gar kein gewöhnlicher geographischer begriff."

must mean 'merchant-seamen,' and the poet must refer to the power of the mercantile class in the state. Even if the word ever means 'porters,' it is absurd to translate it 'porters' here<sup>1</sup>. κόσμος should be translated 'discipline,' δασμός perhaps means 'rations,' and in any case it has nothing to do with γῆς ἀναδασμός. Finally ὅτις in 676 shews that κυβερνήτην does not refer to any one statesman.

In the first line of the poem A has ἦδη, the other manuscripts ἦδειν. The editors are divided between ἦδη, ἦδη, ἦδειν, and various conjectures. ἦδη equivalent to εἶχον is strange<sup>2</sup>; ἦδη can hardly mean 'formerly'; and ὅσα would be far more appropriate than οἶα with χρήματα. These objections exclude οἶα περ ἦδη, and οἶα περ ἦδη if it be taken with what precedes. The remedy is to remove the comma from the end of the line and to connect οἶα περ ἦδη with οὐκ ἂν ἀνέμωην: 'I should not be vexed as I am now.'

729—30 have been mis-translated<sup>3</sup> and mis-emended<sup>4</sup>. 'Thoughts have got men for their portion, thoughts with many-coloured plumage that weep for the soul and for life.' Thoughts are imprisoned in men like birds in a cage. ἀνθρώπων is governed by ἔλαχον. Homer's πτερὸν ἦν νόημα made it easy to think of thoughts as winged things.

For the readings of the manuscripts in 733 see my critical note. The *Etymologicum Magnum*<sup>5</sup> gives the words ἀθηρής, ἀθειρέως and ἀθειρές, giving αὐθάδης and equivalent words among its interpretations. Hence Bergk read ἀθειρής in 733. The form ἀθηρής accounts better for the readings of the manuscripts. I have substituted the neuter plural ἀθηρῆ: for since θυμῷ and μετὰ φρεσὶ are distinguished, an accusative is wanted to balance σχέτλια. With ἀθηρῆ it is perhaps unnecessary to read θ' with O instead of δ'.

<sup>1</sup> See Stephanus-Dindorf s.v. φορταγωγός.

<sup>2</sup> Patin, for example, translates thus: "ce sont les portefaix qui commandent."

<sup>3</sup> Camerarius has the following note: τοῦτ' ἐθέλει δὲ λέγειν, εἰ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοιμι, ἃ τινὰ μοι γνώριμά ἐστιν ὅπου κείται, ἢ τόσα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἡ ἐμὴ ἐπιστήμη καὶ σοφία. But either of these interpretations requires οἶδα or (with attraction of mood) εἰδείην, and with either οἶα περ is bad.

<sup>4</sup> Patin translates thus: "Les pensées des hommes, qui s'attristent au sujet de la vie, ont reçu des ailes changeantes."

<sup>5</sup> ἀνθρώποις, ἐλαθον, ἔχουσιν (the dative of the participle), μυρομένους, etc.

<sup>6</sup> xxiv. 55. Hesychius preserves another form ἀθειρές, to which he gives the meanings ἀρόητρον, ἀρόσιον.

In my treatment of 805—8 I am so fortunate as to agree with Crusius (whose text I had not seen when I made up my mind), except that he substitutes *ἰθύτερον* for the *εὐθύτερον* of the manuscripts. There is something to be said for *ἔμεν* in 806: but though *εὐθύτερον ἔμεν* is a possible expression, *εὐθύτερον ἱμεν* is far more likely; and *ι* is a smaller letter to insert than *ε*. It has been urged that *τόρνον*, *στάθμης* and *γνώμονος* are inappropriate to a verb of motion: but to what are they appropriate? 'Straighter than plummet and rule' is well enough (if *γνώμων* means 'rule,' not 'square'): but what of 'straighter than compasses'? *τόρνος* seems to mean a peg at the end of a string, used for drawing circles; and why it should be a type of straightness is hard to see. The poet must have been thinking not of the shape of the *τόρνος* but of its symmetrical course; and if of the course of the *τόρνος*, why not of the course of the lines drawn along the *στάθμη* and the *γνώμων*?

In 882 *Πλατανιστοῦς* is probably the name of a lake or stream. Pausanias<sup>1</sup> speaks of an open place called *Πλατανιστᾶς*, but this seems to be too near Sparta for our purpose. Because the author of this poem invites his heart to drink wine from Taygetus, he has been assumed to be a Spartan. By the same reasoning Keats would appear from a certain poem of his to be a native of Provence. It would be hard to prove that Theognis, who visited 'Sparta, the glorious city of reedy Eurotas,' could not have received a present of wine from a Spartan friend. Buchholz suggests that Theotimus, who grew the wine, was the poet's father: but was a son or a friend more likely to call Theotimus *ὁ γέγων*?

In 1085 the readings of the manuscripts are singularly corrupt. Perhaps it is just worth while to suggest *Δῆμε ἀναξ*: 'My lord the People, many things it is hard for thee to bear, for thou knowest not how to do what pleases thee not.' This reading, however, is nearer to O's than to A's: and all the manuscripts but A have what looks like a pitiful attempt to emend.

In 1221—2, which are preserved only in Stobaeus viii. 9, *δέος* and *φόβος* have been proposed, and the former accepted by Bergk,

<sup>1</sup> iii. 14. 8.

<sup>2</sup> 785.



in place of λόγος, on the ground that the eighth chapter of Stobaeus is Περὶ Δειλίας. But λόγος, 'calculation,' is quite appropriate: 'Calculation is wont to bring many mistakes to mortal men, when the judgment is upset.' The sentiment resembles that of the seventeenth extract in the same chapter, which is from Thucydides ii. 89: ἡσσημένων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν αἱ γινῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους ὅμοιαι εἶναι. The former extract is quite as worthy of its place in the chapter as the latter.

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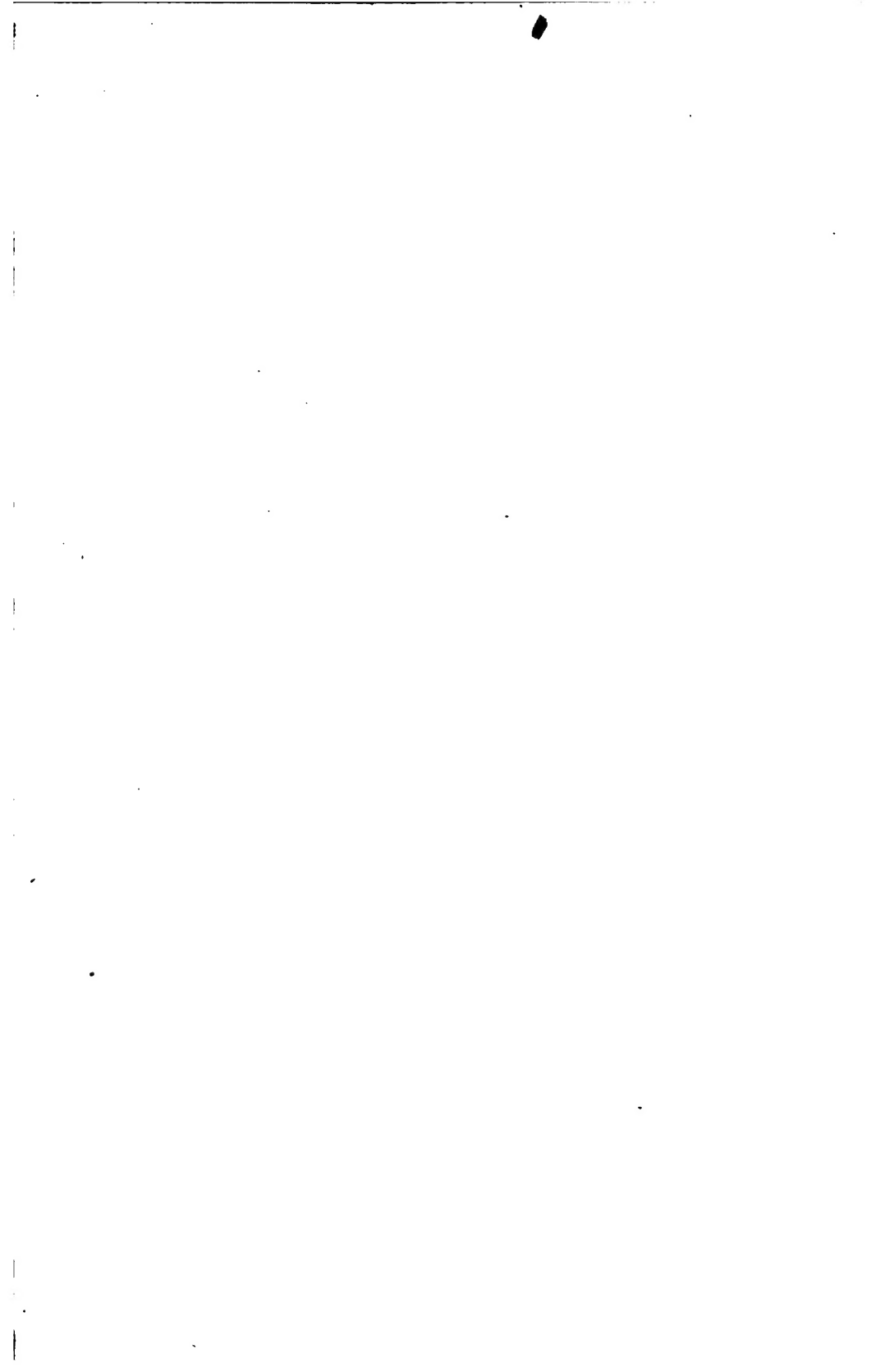
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